New Republic

MAY 2, 1949

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE BIG SHOW is about to open. Secretary Acheson starts public testimony on the Atlantic Pact. The State Department now believes that Russia not merely doesn't want war but is determined there shall be no war. This paves the way for a big diplomatic triumph when the Soviets abandon the Berlin blockade. There will be lots of chest-patting whoop-la. Unfortunately, the State Department still won't be happy. Relaxing tension in Europe means that reluctant congressmen will be even less eager to vote foreign funds. (Looks now as though there'll be cuts in defense and/or ECA appropriations in any case.)

Also, the unhappy State Department still doesn't know what will happen if and when the Berlin blockade ends. It's been the theory heretofore that we'd have a Western German government running by now. But the German Socialists kicked this down. Actually, of course, 45 million Germans passionately want a united Germany and are bound, sooner or later, to get it. Russia plays a big card in Germany by continually harping on the "unity" theme.

There will be a strong temptation here to promote a new crisis atmosphere to get pact and arms implementation through Congress. Russia may help this along by aggressive action, as she's helped every previous legislative step against her. Chairman Connally talks of two weeks of committee hearings; it's more likely to be four. The Senate itself won't act on the treaty till June or July.

Only a handful in the Senate really oppose the Atlantic Pact, but with a 34-vote minority able to block it, the GOP is using the veto club for bargaining purposes. The Administration has already scaled the original arms-export program down at least one-third. This doesn't make our allies happy. Now the GOP-Dixiecrat isolationist-economy bloc will try to squeeze some further concession from the situation; probably a 10-percent slash in Marshall Plan aid. This would really be a tragedy. It would mean sending bombs to Europe instead of lathes, substituting weapons of destruction for tools of reconstruction.

We took our annual fascinated look at the DAR convention here last week. Sorry we couldn't hear Representative Gwinn, (R, N. Y.) tear into "Federal Aid to Education: The Final Act in the Tragedy of Socialism —American Variety," but everybody who heard it said it was lovely. We arrived at lunchtime. The ladies were unpinning their orchids to put them in water. A group with sash-ribbons over their shoulders were sipping cokes in the basement, covertly counting each other's ancestor bars.

The object of the DAR game is to get as many ancestor bars as possible. These are worn in front, pinned on a ribbon from which dangles DAR insignia. They are like army service stripes. The whole social scale is based on the number of bars. One magnificent figure of a woman had 11. Each ancestor has to be title-searched by the DAR Registrar General. A nice old Daughter told us they're way behind in their work; ancestors are piling up. She personally has had two ancestors in hock for more than a year waiting to be legitimitized. That's one reason for the new $900,000 building-annex—to speed ancestor-processing.

We also heard faint DAR mutterings over the cost of insignia. J. E. Caldwell and Co., official jewelers, had a big display. It seems that one ancestor gets you into the DAR; this entitles you to buy the gold-and-platinum official insignia pendant ($18.75), chapter bar ($7.25), first ancestor bar ($7.25) and Recognition

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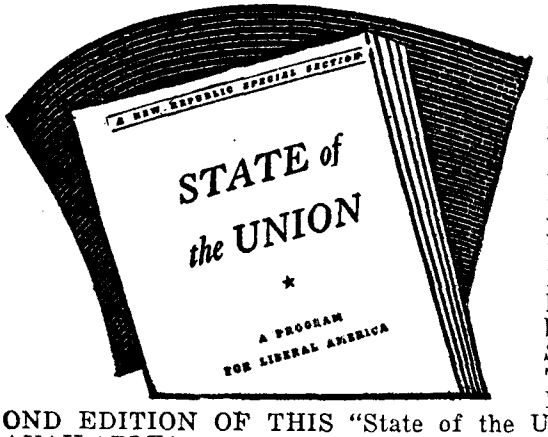
The future of the Truman Fair Deal was discussed recently at a private conference in Washington. The participants included Helen Gahagan Douglas, Gardner Jackson, Claude Pepper, Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., Joseph P. Lash, Michael Straight, Robert F. Wagner Jr. and many others.

What they said added up to a 32-page supplement which appeared in the *New Republic* and is now reprinted separately. Distribute *"Next Steps in the Fair Deal"* reprints at these low prices: 1 to 99 copies delivered at 10c each; 100 to 999 copies delivered at 7½¢ each; 1,000 or more, 6¢ each plus shipping charges. All shipments in bulk to one address.



"Practical and constructive . . . of great educational and public value," William Green, *president*, AFL. . . . "Magnificent job of providing the hard core of truth and fact," Jack Kroll, *director*, CIO-PAC. . . . "A beaut . . . I intend to steal rather liberally from it," Aubrey Williams, *publisher*, *Southern Farmer*. THOUSANDS ALREADY SOLD! SECOND EDITION OF THIS "State of the Union" REPRINT NOW AVAILABLE!

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VOLUME 120, NUMBER 18, ISSUE 1796, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 2, 1949 **New Republic**

NEXT STEPS IN CHINA

THE FIGHTING drags on in China, but the 20-year war is over. The Communists have taken power in Nanking, where Sun Yat-sen once raised the banner of democracy. They have fought in obedience to Soviet orders; but they have won because they came closer to realization of Sun's principles than did the regime identified with the democratic world.

Indifferent to both sides, and utterly weary, the Chinese people have desired only peace. In recent weeks Li Tsung-jen, a sincere and courageous man, spoke for that universal desire. But the final effort to win a settlement, like the war itself, was lost by the unparalleled arrogance, incompetence and corruption of the regime of Chiang Kai-shek. As always, Chiang delegated responsibility and withheld power. He left Li, as *acting* President, to negotiate in Nanking. From his "retirement" in Chekiang, Chiang commanded the Nationalist armies and immobilized 75 percent of the government's gold, silver and foreign-currency reserves needed to combat its financial crisis. The peace terms offered by the Communists were harsh, and in some cases unenforceable. Yet the Communists sent their best leaders to negotiate a settlement. Their discovery that Li lacked any real power may have been as important as their own duplicity in the collapse of negotiations and the resumption of fighting. When the Communist offensive began, it was Chiang who ordered the retreat of the navy and air force to Formosa, and the abandonment without a struggle of the last natural line of defense.

Before the Communists now lie open and undefended the rich rice fields of Hunan, the industry of the lower Yangtze Valley, the great coastal cities of Hangchow and Shanghai. For the Communists these areas present great problems as well as great rewards. They have advanced from an export-surplus area in North China and Manchuria to an export-deficient area. They have experienced great difficulties in occupying Peiping and Tientsin. In Shanghai, six million Chinese are kept alive by a rationing system based on American supplies of rice, flour and petroleum. Those supplies will be cut off, by act of Congress, if Shanghai falls. And normally the Communists would first consolidate their new conquests in rural areas. But if, as A. T. Steele cables from Shanghai, the Communists are pressing forward at Russian insistence, then Shanghai will fall; a constitutional convention of the Communist Party and its front organizations will be called; a new national government of China will come into being.

It will not be a true coalition government. In local administration it may make use of non-Communist technicians. In policy determination its hard core will be Communist, and linked closely to Russia. All talk of an imminent break between Mao Tse-tung and Stalin seems to us to be coffee-house chatter.

There are conflicts between Chinese nationalism and Soviet imperialism. The Soviet government alone maintains foreign concessions in Manchuria. It has won control of Outer Mongolia. It is pressing into Inner Mongolia. It has been wringing concessions in Sinkiang from a nationalist delegation in order to make the most of the present situation and to spare the Chinese Communists the onus of yielding new concessions. But for Moscow, locked in conflict on a world front, the Chinese have become the great antagonists of the West in Asia. And the Chinese Communists in turn have chosen sides in the world war they foresee.

In the future, Chinese nationalism may win over Communist subordination to Moscow. Today, China's new rulers remember that to bring about their destruction America delivered $3 billion worth of supplies to their enemy. Ninety percent of these supplies were used mainly by the Communists. But they remember that American bombers shattered their towns, that American fighters strafed their trenches; that American bullets killed their comrades. Their rank and file has been indoctrinated with hatred of America. And the new government of China will be bitterly anti-American. For that hatred toward a nation which has been committed historically to the independence and unification of China we have our military leaders, our Republican Congress and Chiang's lobby, led by Henry Luce, to thank.

The State Department, which Republican leaders now berate, has lately shown rare wisdom in China. It has maintained its legations in Peiping and Tientsin. It

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has encouraged American businessmen, missionaries and educators to stay on under Communist rule. It has refused to be stampeded into sending more aid to a hopeless cause.

The National government [Dean Acheson wrote Senator Connally on March 14] does not have the military capability of maintaining a foothold in South China against a determined Communist advance. The Chinese government forces have lost no battles during the past year because of lack of ammunition and equipment. . . . There is no evidence that the furnishing of additional military material would alter the pattern of current developments in China. . . . It . . . would only prolong hostilities and the suffering of the Chinese people, and would arouse in them deep resentment against the United States.

We have rejected the use of non-recognition as a diplomatic weapon. And when the Chinese Communists establish a national government we shall have to recognize it. Recognition will mean resumption of full trade relations, acceptance of the Communist delegations in the United Nations, and treatment of the Nationalists as rebels. The major decisions will center around the future of Formosa.

Formosa, where Chiang suppressed a genuine independence movement with terrible brutality two years ago, is now the scene of a new movement for independence from China. Chiang has transferred his air force and his gold reserve there. He hopes that its airfields and deep-water bases will lead America to take his Formosan regime out of Chinese sovereignty and place it under the protection of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers as part of the Japanese sphere of occupation. The lesson of the last three years is surely that any such action would be a foolhardy gamble that is bound to end once more in failure.

Two years ago, in the *New Republic,* Evans Carlson predicted the exact course of events that have taken place in China. Almost all liberals held the same views. In unregenerate conservatism and unreasoning fear, we supported a regime that had no support among its own people. In the name of opposition to Communism we pledged ourselves to a regime that paid lip service to the outward forms of democracy and mocked the basic values that those forms exist to serve. It collapsed in the face of a superior economic and social system, and by identifying democracy with its pretentious greed, we made its inevitable defeat our defeat. The idea that we could have saved Chiang by more aid, that we should have taken completely a country far larger in size and population than our own, is monstrous. We have neither the capacity, the opportunity, the legal sanction nor the moral right to intervene in any such way. If our reaction to the events in China starts us thinking in such terms, we could be altogether lost.

The lesson of China is that there are narrow limits to the action of any country; that American aid is always marginal; that the regeneration of a people is primarily a test of that people's own strength; that the strength of a people lies in the devotion of its leaders to the practice of democracy day by day; and that if the strength which democracy offers to an embattled people is denied them, no other aid can replace it, and their battle sooner or later is lost.

THE WEEK

A START IN HOUSING

"The nation's slums are growing like cancers," freshman Senator Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) told his colleagues. "Ringing the central business districts and rapidly spreading outward, the slums are the environment of from 10 to 15 million people—a health hazard, an economic loss."

Senate Administration leaders have won the first round of the Fair Deal program for adequate housing. Majority leader Francis Myers (D, Pa.) held the Senate in session until midnight to pass the bipartisan housing bill by an overwhelming majority, 57 to 13. It was the second major defeat of the real-estate lobby, which had been unable to lift controls on rent during the 81st Congress. While the measure deals primarily with slum clearance and low-rent public housing —the two basic problem areas—the sponsors are aware that it falls short of a comprehensive national housing program that would include the large middle-income group.

The week-long debate had some dramatic moments. Senator Douglas challenged his fellow Senators to tour the slum areas of the nation's Capital. Five of them, guided by the District health officer, visited disease-blighted, rat-ridden hovels where 10 to 12 persons crowd into a single bedroom, where the only water supply is an outdoor spigot in the garbage-littered alleys, where outdoor privies, wood stoves and oil lamps are considered conveniences. Senator Douglas reminded them that slums like these in Washington are duplicated in every large city in the country. When the group returned to Capitol Hill, they quickly scrubbed themselves in the washrooms.

As the debate progressed, a handful of Republicans could find no takers for the anti-public-housing amend-

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ments they offered. Senators Harry P. Cain (Wash.), John W. Bricker (Ohio), Joseph McCarthy (Wis.) and Homer Capehart (Ind.)—ever willing to fulfill the wishes of the real-estate lobby—attempted to kill the bill by crippling amendments. Senator Bricker resorted to the old tactic of attaching a non-discrimination rider to the bill. His motives were exposed when he changed his original amendment, which would have guaranteed a policy of non-segregation in both private and public housing, to apply only to *public* housing. Even the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People commented that Bricker's action "shows clearly his opposition to public housing rather than *discrimination* in housing."

The boom fell on Senator Capehart when he cried: "Who can possibly be against permitting people of all creeds and colors to live in housing which has been constructed by the American taxpayers' money? Who is going to vote against it? Who is against civil rights?" To which Senator Robert A. Taft replied: "The senior Senator from Ohio is going to vote against the amendment," and, along with other Senators, explained that the Act contains no discrimination clauses, and, if the Administrator functions within the law, such an amendment is unnecessary.

Senator Douglas quickly came to the crux of the matter: "I'll tell you what's wrong with the Bricker amendment. It would take away 25 to 30 Southern votes from the bill on this side of the aisle without any commensurate support from the other side of the aisle." The amendment was defeated, 46 to 32.

Senator Taft's own attempt to wipe out the section providing repair loans for farms (dubbed by Republicans "the outhouse section") was defeated 41 to 30. Senator William Langer (R, N. D.) was so irate over Taft's action that he introduced an amendment increasing the loans to farmers from $12.5 million to $25 million, and the Senate adopted it, 41 to 28.

As passed by the Senate with John Sparkman (Ala.) leading the Administration's forces, the new bill sets forth a broad declaration of national housing policy—"the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family. . . ." It authorizes $1 billion in loans and $500 million in capital grants to localities over a five-year period to clear slums and redevelop these areas. It provides for 810,000 low-rent public-housing units over a six-year period. There is special provision for housing research and for financial assistance to farm owners to enable them to construct, improve or repair farm housing.

During the 80th Congress, Representative Jesse Wolcott (R, Mich.) controlled the Banking and Currency Committee and managed to scuttle all housing legislation in the House. This year, however, the Democrats have a solid majority for the bill on the committee. Hearings, which begin next week, will be brief and the House leadership expects to have the bill on the floor with little delay.

"NO DISCRIMINATION"

Threats to abolish the Texas Good Neighbor Commission, a young state agency designed to eliminate discrimination against American-born Mexicans, are being made by members of the state legislature as a result of a blatant discrimination case involving a Mexican war veteran.

Mrs. Felix Longoria of Three Rivers, Texas, asked the War Department to send her soldier-husband's body back from Luzon for reburial. Three Rivers is a south Texas town (population: 1,337) where Texans of Mexican ancestry hold second-class citizenship similar to that of the Negro in most of the South. When Mrs. Longoria asked for the use of the chapel of the local funeral parlor for the reburial services, T. W. Kennedy, the owner, declined and suggested that she use her own home.

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson (D, Tex.), who was elected with the solid vote of south Texas Latin Americans, learned of the refusal and arranged for Longoria to be buried in Arlington National Cemetery. Three Rivers, stunned by the bad publicity, then offered Mrs. Longoria the use of the chapel or even the Mayor's home. But she preferred Arlington.

The Good Neighbor Commission looked into the incident and reported that it was an obvious case of "discrimination." Whereupon State Representative J. F. Gray of Three Rivers introduced a bill to abolish the Commission and a resolution giving the legislature authority to make its own investigation. Although the investigating committee was told that Kennedy had refused use of the chapel "because Longoria was a Mexican" and "the whites wouldn't like it," the committee found (4 to 1) that there had been no discrimination.

The report has further disturbed the already delicate relations between Texas and Mexico. Governor Beauford Jester, in the midst of observing Pan-American week, had the Governor of Coahuila as his house guest while the affair was boiling. Administration pressure was brought to have the report withdrawn. The Mexican government, which has blacklisted Texas for farm laborers because of discrimination against Mexican nationals, has warned that it is ready to take further steps against Texas if the Good Neighbor Commission is abolished and the Three Rivers report stands up.

CVA SABOTAGE

Closely following President Truman's message to Congress asking establishment of a Columbia Valley Authority comes the announcement of an agreement between Secretary Krug and Secretary Royall (since resigned) the real purpose of which is to sabotage the CVA, despite pious statements to the contrary.

For years the highly competitive

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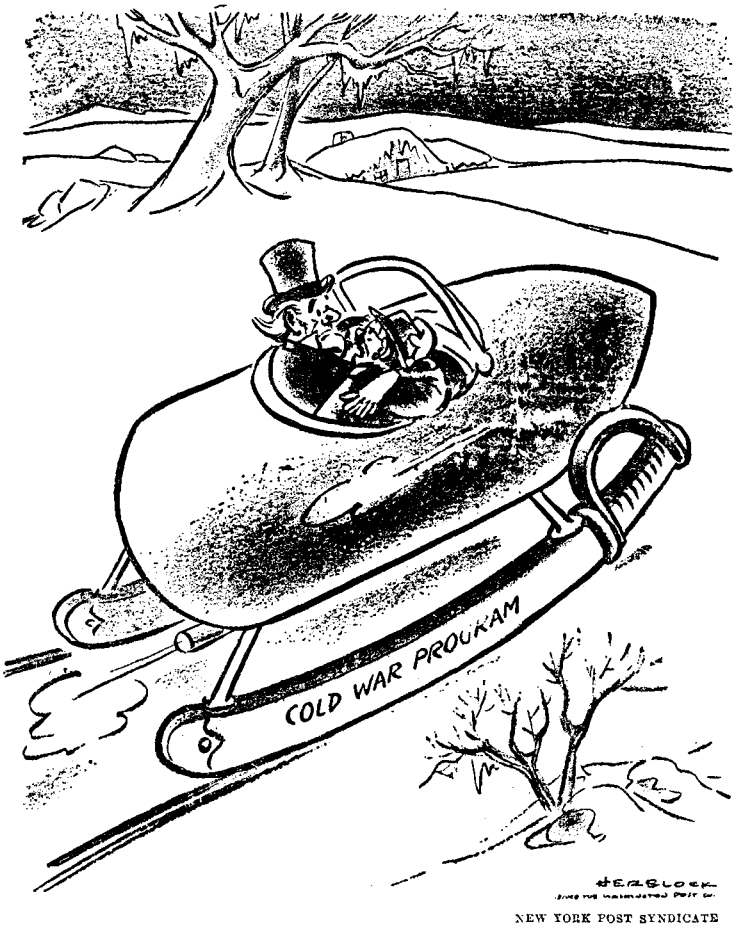
Bureau of Reclamation and the Army Corps of Engineers have sought to develop Western rivers. The competition has been particularly keen in the Missouri basin and the Columbia River system. Despite this competitive status which has wasted hundreds of thousands of dollars on duplicated planning, these bureaus have found it possible to unite in the face of common enemies such as the valley-authority proposal. Through the Pick-Sloan plan of a few years ago, the bureaus effectively stymied the Missouri Valley Authority for which strong support had developed.

With a record of success in sabotaging the MVA behind them, these agencies have hurriedly announced a similar project for the Columbia Valley. They have divided more than a score of proposed dams between them in the plan announced by Krug and Royall.

"The agreement provides," so the Departments jointly announce, "the basis for further development of the region's water resources efficiently and in consonance with the views and needs of the people of the region. In this respect it provides an inventory and framework which would be extremely valuable to the proposed Columbia Valley Authority." The agreement, however, is for no interim period, as the Secretaries suggest. The work divided between the bureaus is not of an immediate nature and only a small portion of it has been appropriated for. Some of the dams involved could hardly be built for another decade or more.

It would be regrettable indeed if Reclamation and the Engineers again succeed in sinking a valley authority. The President must approve the present Krug-Royall agreement before it becomes final. We expect he will turn it down.



"Got something we can switch to in case of a thaw?"

AN OLD CHINA HAND

Harold E. Stassen gives signs of wanting to shed his youth.

The former Minnesota Governor made his big pitch for the Republican presidential nomination at Philadelphia last year as a self-styled spokesman for the nation's young people. At every political turn, Stassen has emphasized this supposedly attractive selling point.

This appeal having failed at the GOP convention, Stassen apparently has decided to trade it in for a new approach more in keeping with the dignity of his new job as president of the University of Pennsylvania: seasoned maturity. It hardly needs to be pointed out that this quality should also prove useful in any future political activities.

In a letter to the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin,* Stassen indicated that when he recently proposed a "MacArthur Plan" for China he really meant it for all Asia. The recent addition to the ranks of educators contended that his remarks at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology convocation had been interpreted too narrowly, pointing out that while China figures importantly in this country's Asiatic policy, it represents only half the population and less than a third of the resources of Asia.

Apparently to give weight to his summation of the situation, Minnesota's one-time youngest Governor added in his letter—with a straight face, presumably—that he has been a student of Asia for the last 25 years.

Who's Who in America gives Stassen's birth date as April 13, 1907. Stassen's letter to the *Evening Bulletin* was published just barely this side of his forty-second birthday. If he has been a student of Asia for the last 25 years, he became interested in it at age 17. Somehow this had previously missed the historians' attention, even those "historians" who were on Stassen's staff during those pulse-quickening months when the Republican presidential nomination seemed almost within grasp, 'way back in 1948.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

Stockholm is now one of Europe's busiest rumor factories, the 1949 equivalent of Estonian Reval (now Soviet Tallinn) between 1917 and 1920 when Cold War I was being fought across Iron Curtain I (the *cordon sanitaire*). The place is an OSS man's paradise, a happy hunting ground for spies and counterspies. Many of the rumors are as unreliable as those that came out of Reval three decades ago. But because of the city's geographical situation it is also a really good listening post for sounds that may make some sense about what is happening behind the Iron Curtain.

Here, therefore, for what it may be worth, is the Stockholm story, or rather the version current several weeks after the signing of the North Atlantic Pact. Though the Soviet peace offensive is nothing more than a strategic device, it is based on a very real fear that the Americans may be heading toward a preventive war, not so much because they (or more than a small minority of them) want a shooting war but because the commitments undertaken by the pact may, by the force of uncontrollable events, lead to such a war. There are five factors which, according to the Russians, are driving the Americans toward war. These are (in the Communist jargon in which they are usually stated):

¶ The expansionism of American economic imperialism and the efforts of British economic imperialism to save what it can from US domination.

¶ The resistance of Western imperialism to the rapid disintegration of the old economic colonialism in China and Southeast Asia.

¶ The threat of crises in the US domestic economic system.

¶ The desire of French imperialism to regain some of the power lost in Europe, by tightening its hold in Indo-China and in Africa.

¶ The aspirations to revenge of the defeated imperialisms of Germany and Italy, combined with the indirect support now being given by America, Britain and France to revival of German nationalism, repeating the pattern of the years after World War I.

The change in the world situation is summed up by the difference between Winston Churchill's speech in Fulton, Missouri, and the one he made recently in Boston. Nevertheless, though the Soviets are inevitablists and fatalists, judging events from the viewpoint of the doctrine of "necessity" of their materialist interpretation of history, they believe they can hold off a preventive war. All this, of course, is the Soviet side of the case, therefore conditioned on the assumption that Moscow does not want a shooting war—at least not *now*.

The recent shifts in personnel in the Soviet hierarchy beginning with the Molotov-Vishinsky change are intended to do three things:

¶ To reverse the trend of mixing politics with administration in the various branches of the government and armed forces;

¶ To bring the strongest and most trustworthy men into the political high command (which needs all the power it can have because it will be the supreme instrument of "resistance" to the "preventive warmongers" while there still is time);

¶ To staff the "operating" agencies of the government with the most competent, preferably non-political, technicians in order to prepare for war when it *does* come—as it will "inevitably."

A case in point was the replacement of Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin by Marshal Alexander M. Vasilevsky as Soviet Minister of the Armed Forces. The outgoing marshal is a "political soldier." He comes from the hierarchy of the MVD (political secret police) and of the political administration of the Communist Party; and he was brought in as head of the armed-forces ministry in March, 1947, in order to give a political veneer to the Red Army which Marshal Stalin then considered to be too tightly in the grip of the professional career soldiers. His appointment was a movement away from the extreme "militarization" of the Red Army, which had resulted naturally from the actual fighting needs of the war.

Now the movement is in the other direction. Vasilevsky's background is strictly middle-class: his father was a doctor, his mother a pianist, he himself has a doctorate of philosophy from a good university. What makes him the best man for the job is that he is a scientist and technician of military matters, reputedly highly intelligent and open-minded to modern innovations. He distinguished himself in Finland in 1939, during the siege of Moscow in 1941, during the big Kharkov offensive, then as commander during the two-weeks war against the Japanese in Manchuria in 1945. He is a "soldier's soldier," so much so that he gets along well with the professionals of other armies. In the present situation, his political shortcomings are incidental, unimportant. He has been given the armed-forces ministry because he is the man who, in Stalin's opinion, is best able to "militarize" the Red Army with the technical skill and scientific imagination necessary for a shooting war with atomic weapons.

As the personnel changes are being made, the Politburo is gearing its large policy to cope with the consequences of the North Atlantic Pact. This policy is divided into three parts. First, there is the specifically political front as it shapes up in the West. Here the Soviets are staging a strategic retreat but, as is usual with them, in the form of a defensive-offensive. The temporary and limited objective is to cut losses, to liquidate as many enemies of the Soviet as possible, and to change or at least slow up anti-Communist governmental developments.

On this front it is likely that the

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"peace offensive" will be stepped up: the "World Conference of Partisans of Peace" in Paris is an example, as was the "cultural" meeting in New York. The propaganda machine is being put into high gear. Every conceivable direct and indirect pressure will be used. In some places, such as France and Italy, a portion of the Communist stalwarts will work underground—this may be true in the United States as well. But since the goal is to influence public opinion in circles not yet fully or militantly committed to anti-Communism, most of the activities (in the domestic affairs of the Western countries) are to be kept as "constitutional" and as "legal" as possible.

In a measure, all this is a reversal of the trend of the last year. It is, therefore, a proof of the efficacy of the West's own counter-offensive culminating in the pact. The second of the Politburo's "fronts" is the preventive-offensive. The areas are Yugoslavia, Finland and Iran. Here the goal is to remove threats on the military flanks when the shooting war begins. The third of the fronts is China and Southeast Asia. Here a real offensive will be staged, on the old Leninistic theory that the colonies are always the Achilles' heel of imperialism. From the long view, the third front is probably the most important. In the spring and early summer of this year, however, the second is likely to be the most active.

Finland is back almost to where it was before the Soviet "preventive war" on the eve of World War II. Soviet Ambassador General Savonenkov is exerting every possible pressure in Helsinki on Social Democratic Premier Fagerholm, and his threats are echoed by Soviet Ambassador Chernychev in Stockholm. Rumors have recently been spread that the Soviets would stage a coup on the Czechoslovak pattern, and also that Red Army forces on the frontiers of Finland and Norway have been heavily reinforced. Scandinavian Communist leaders have been leaving on mysterious missions to Berlin and Moscow. A group of Swedes headed by Frederic Lager, secretary of the Swedish Communist Party, went to the former German capital, where, it is understood in Stockholm, the main branch of the Cominform has now set up its headquarters in the Soviet sector. A large Norwegian delegation headed by Peder Furubotn went to Moscow.

But in Finland the Social Democrats who run the government have also been staging a kind of "preventive war": the Communist members of the Fagerholm Cabinet have been deprived of their jobs and the Finnish press has been using the strongest (and bravest) language in countering the bitter anti-Finnish press campaign being conducted by *Pravda* and other Soviet newspapers. Fagerholm himself has dared to go even farther: as member of the board of a big airplane company, he has let it be known that he favored the building on Finnish soil of technical installations for the launching of V-1 missiles. The Soviet Army newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* has discovered another threat: it published a story that American and British sportsmen were hunting wolves on the north Finnish frontier, using for the purpose small and very fast airplanes and automobiles—the suggestion was made that if these Americans started with wolves, they might end with bears.

Stockholm is too far away from the Persian Gulf to find out much about Soviet intentions in Iran, but about Yugoslavia there is plenty of information (or what passes as such). For the time being (the Stockholm story goes) there is no question of direct armed action against Marshal Tito: he has 400,000 soldiers who would be more than a match for the forces that Dimitrov, Ana Pauker, Rakosi and Hoxha might be able to muster against him; moreover, he probably has Markos Vafiades on his side now; and the Soviets would not risk sending their own forces into the south Balkans (at least not openly and in numbers sufficient to help the faithful satellites dispose of the dissident leader). Tito is too much a Balkanite for terrorism to work well against him; the man who holds forth in the capital of the Obrenovics and Karageorgevics, who commands the sons of veterans of two Balkan wars, would be a master at that game. (It is said that two attempts to assassinate him, one last August, the other last October, failed.) The Soviets hope he will be more vulnerable in the war of nerves that is being stepped up against him—and very rapidly as the prospect of American economic (and even military) help for Yugoslavia shapes up more clearly.

It is evident that Macedonia is likely to be the terrain when the Soviets reach the last phase of their effort to liquidate Tito as a threat to their flank in a third world war. Whether this phase is begun soon will depend on whether the Soviets feel they are gaining ground (that is, cutting losses) on the first of the three fronts—the front of the peace offensive and propagandistic defensive-offensive in the West. If the North Atlantic Pact is followed up by a Mediterranean pact linking Franco Spain with Greece and Turkey (a lovely liberal-democratic combination!), then it is almost certain that the Soviets will consider that the "peace front" had better be abandoned, and that Tito will have to be liquidated at any cost and at any risk.

The argument of the men who do Moscow's bidding in the peace offensive that the North Atlantic Pact points toward a preventive war to be started by the West may bespeak real fear in the Kremlin, or mere propaganda, or both. There would not be much question (in the Soviet view) if the West decided to consider the Mediterranean an arm of the Atlantic. And in Western Europe the underwriting by Washington of such sterling liberal-democratic regimes as those in Madrid, Athens and Istanbul as defenders of liberal, democratic Tito would undoubtedly help the Soviets win their argument—but too late for matters to be left entirely on a basis of talk. The risk of trying to save Tito is something to think about. PERCY WINNER

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THE FAIR DEAL'S FARM PROGRAM

by Angus McDonald

CHARLES F. BRANNAN of Colorado, President Truman's soft-spoken young Secretary of Agriculture, has developed—almost unnoticed and practically overnight—from the least obtrusive to the most dynamic figure in the present Administration. The new farm program which Brannan has presented to Congress is creating the greatest sensation in Washington since the war. Conservative columnists cry "Socialism." Democrats are divided between wonder and disbelief. Republican politicians dread the split it may bring about in the GOP. Farmers themselves seem generally pleased with the new program.

The program is of the greatest significance. It extends government controls to all major farm products and it extends price supports to all these products. It establishes a moving base period in determining the relationship between the prices paid and the prices received by farmers, beginning with the first ten of the last twelve years. So it modernizes the concept of parity payments. At the same time it protects consumers by permitting prices to move with aggregate demand. By a system of direct payments to farmers, however, it undertakes to stabilize total farm income at high levels.

Until now, only a few "basic" crops have been assured year-in, year-out, price support. A few others have been rescued when in distress by government purchases.

Now Secretary Brannan is saying to Congress: Here is a real support system, modernized and strengthened to stand the shock of today's record crops. So Brannan has forced the issue, and the lines of battle are forming. For Brannan's program are the New Dealers, most of the Democrats, the National Farmers' Union and the majority of the trade unions. Against the program are most Republicans, the Farm Bureau Federation and probably the Grange. These latter groups condemn the program as "regimentation of farmers." But the fact is that a managed farm economy began 15 years ago when the first row of cotton was plowed up, the first AAA checks were sent to the farmers, the first little pig killed.

Given today's farm productivity, government support prices which seem to be essential to farm prosperity are unmanageable without some production controls. These controls in acreage allotments are already clearly foreseen in the present Aiken Act whose Title 2, providing for flexible price supports, is to become effective January 1, 1950. The Act authorizes every measure now proposed by Brannan except his new pricing formula. And in encouraging the free movement of prices, Brannan's program in some ways provides for a greater flexibility.

There is nevertheless a vast difference between the two plans. The backers of the Aiken program assume that the best way to reduce overproduction in major farm products is to let prices fall. Brannan assumes that lowered prices today may simply force farmers to market more produce in order to maintain the gross income. He uses the example of potatoes. The government-supported potato price this year has dropped to 60 percent of parity. Brannan maintains that instead of discouraging production, the support purchases this year have been costing the government $1 million every working day. He adds that his plan of direct payments would cost far less and would keep farm prices down.

A second criticism that has greeted Brannan's new program is that it calls for direct payments to farmers. Those who still maintain that indirect payments are not subsidies smear direct payments as handouts. But they admit they know of no other way to guarantee the prices of livestock, dairy and poultry products and other perishable farm goods.

Brannan's program is a masterpiece of timing. Everything in it has been used in some form in the past. Every authority he seeks is already given to him in present legislation. Yet his program represents a sharp break with the past.

One real break is in the parity formula. The present formula gives each unit of a commodity the same buying power it had at some base period in the past, usually 1909-14. Brannan's new formula starts with farm income as a whole rather than with individual prices. He seeks to give a collective buying power to farm products at least equal to their buying power in the preceding 10-year period. This power he then translates into support prices for each commodity. These prices amount to about 90 percent of parity today.

The fact is that Brannan wants to stabilize farm income at about 10 percent below last year's peak level. Within the high general plane of farm prices he intends to maintain, livestock prices will be allowed to fall from 1948 levels; the price of citrus fruits and some other products will rise. In every case, of course, the producers must qualify in order to obtain government support. To qualify, the farmer would have to carry out minimum soil-conservation practices. And he would have to keep within all his acreage allotments and comply with any marketing quotas or agreements voted by farmers. To qualify for support for any one crop, a farmer would have to keep within acreage allotments for all his produce. Otherwise, of course, he would simply shift his controlled crop from his worst to his best land and on the same amount of acreage be able to obtain far more produce.

Brannan's objective is to achieve a balanced farm output. He wants to raise production of meat, milk and eggs. He intends to establish national production goals for each commodity and to implement these goals by balancing the incentives among the various farm products. To relate per-

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ishable goods like milk and eggs, on which direct payments are made, and non-perishable produce like cotton, wheat and corn, for which the present system of government loans and purchase agreements will be continued, Brannan proposes a system of units of farm production. One unit is 10 bushels of corn. Its equivalents are 52 pounds of cotton, 717 bushels of wheat, 155 pounds of peanuts, 6 bushels of rice, 9 bushels of potatoes, 22 pounds of butterfat, 346 pounds of milk, 76 pounds of hogs, 86 pounds of beef cattle, 79 pounds of lamb, 29 pounds of wool, 32 dozen eggs, 50 pounds of chickens and 7 boxes of oranges.

Brannan proposes a limit on price supports to large farms. He would limit government supports to 1,800 units of produce for each farm. If a farmer produced more than 1,800 units for all the products combined, he would then decide on which items to seek support.

This provision would affect about two percent of all US farms. They are largely producers of wheat, cattle, cotton, fruits and vegetables. They produce about one-fourth of all farm production. Brannan does not want to see government assistance accelerate the growing concentration in farm production. He wants to take aid for family-sized farms out of the preamble to farm legislation and put it in the terms of legislation itself. Small farmers welcome this recognition of their plight but they wonder whether Brannan's plan will leave too much production beyond the limits of government control and so depress the prices of all farm produce.

Just as the farm program of the New Deal is bound up in the personality of Henry Wallace so the new program reflects the personality of Charles Brannan. That personality is almost unknown to non-farm groups in the United States today.

Few, outside official circles and the home folks in his native Colorado, had ever heard of him before the President promoted him from Assistant Secretary to Secretary last May. And Truman

DRAWING BY CHARLES ALLEN

CHARLES F. BRANNAN

himself didn't seem much interested in the man at that time. Former Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson was against Brannan's appointment at first. It lay on the President's desk for weeks before it was actually signed.

But when the campaign came along, Brannan was one of the few Administration men who believed, or at least acted as if he believed, that the President had a chance of winning. He made more speeches than any other Democrat except Truman and Barkley. He invaded the rock-ribbed Republican farm belt and hammered home the point that the 80th Congress had sold the farmers down the river by denying them storage facilities—by trying to do away with the conservation program and by denying funds for power generation. And when, in September, Stassen attacked the whole price-support program by saying it kept prices up, Brannan recognized this statement as a major political blunder and made the most of this opportunity to win the farm vote.

Although Brannan did not grow up on a farm or attend agricultural school (he studied law in college), he has been in almost daily touch with farmers' problems ever since 1935 when he went to work for the Resettlement Administration in Colorado.

Brannan was born in Denver, Colorado, in 1903. His father was an engineer who became a Democrat during the so-called Hoover depression. The Brannans lived in modest circumstances. Charlie had to stay out of school several years in order to earn enough to complete his law course. After he finished school, he practised law until the depression landed him in the new Resettlement Administration. His work there involved legal and practical problems in the drought-stricken areas. Although his job was to interpret and apply the law, his special concern, according to his friends, was to do whatever he could for the people involved. When "resettlement" became the Farm Security Administration, Brannan was made regional director for Colorado, Wyoming and Montana. His ability as an administrator was so outstanding that Franklin Roosevelt promoted him to Washington in 1944 as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture under Claude Wickard.

In Washington the Brannans attracted little attention. Mrs. Brannan, who had been active in the Democratic Party organization back home, became interested in such groups as the League of Women Voters. Brannan continued to work hard and quietly, doing a good job and influencing Department of Agriculture officials along more liberal lines. Over the years he had acquired a philosophy and a knowledge of agriculture, economics and social affairs unusual for a government bureaucrat. He developed into one of the strongest liberals in the Department of Agriculture.

His apprenticeship in the FSA had deepened his interest in the welfare of the average man. Unlike many USDA officials who were inherited from the Hoover Administration, he turned instinctively toward government measures that would be to the advantage of all the people.

Specifically, Brannan came to believe that any measure which helped the family farmer was a good one, and any measure which accentuated the trend toward large-scale corporate farming was a bad one. He became an advocate of the Valley Authority idea, was a consistent fighter for legislation to provide health insurance, social security and adequate housing. Brannan's ideas about the role of government re-

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sembled those of James Patton, president of the National Farmers' Union. Patton, an old friend of Brannan and about his age, urged his appointment both as Assistant Secretary and Secretary. Patton had also been affected by the depression and by the drought years and had risen to the presidency of the NFU in 1940 in response to the needs of farmers. Unlike some leaders in the two other general farm organizations, he believed with Brannan that the people should act through their government to bring about reforms and needed services. Whether Patton influenced Brannan, or vice versa, is not clear, but they came to somewhat the same conclusions.

Brannan, unlike his predecessor Anderson, was a sincere supporter of the OPA, and has repeatedly pointed out since he became Secretary that high, inflated, uncontrolled prices give the farmer the illusion of great wealth but actually cut his purchasing power. During the campaign he repeatedly attacked Wherry, Taft and other Republican leaders for bringing about the death of the OPA. Brannan also had concluded that the manipulation of prices alone might bring to an end the entire price-support system.

Ever since Brannan came to Washington he has consistently advocated the idea that a main problem is finding markets for farmers' goods. Consequently, his present program includes provisions which affect non-farm people. He favors an enlarged school-lunch program. He favors a gigantic storage program which would not only provide an ever-normal granary for non-perishables, but for the processing, refrigeration, storing, channeling and distribution of perishables.

Throughout his career, the Secretary has emphasized that a fundamental problem both in the US and all over the world is one of distribution. If one thing stands out in Brannan's speeches, testimony before committees, departmental directives and conversations with friends, it is that measures must be enacted to utilize farm products after they leave the farm.

Brannan also realizes that there is a close relation between farm and city buying power. In speeches before labor groups he pointed out that price-support legislation for the farmer was somewhat similar to minimum-wage legislation and unemployment compensation for the worker, that having a floor under wages or prices doesn't mean that it will be used, only that it is there as insurance against depression and as an obstacle to starting the downward spiral of income of both city and farm people.

His chief criticism of existing farm legislation is that it is too rigid. In particular, he has condemned the law as it related to potatoes. Potato growers, he says, were paid a premium for mining the soil and for producing a commodity of which we had a surplus. Present agricultural legislation, he feels, has other weaknesses. One is that the non-coöperator stands almost as good a chance to benefit under a loan program as a coöperator. Under the voluntary system, for example, a potato grower might double his acreage, and while he would not be entitled to a loan, could sell his potatoes on the open market and thus profit from the loan program. The government's buying up or lending money on other potatoes would sustain the market price, thereby benefiting everybody, including those who did not coöperate.

For five days Brannan fought for his new program before Congressional committees. Now the hearings are starting up again. In the House Agriculture Committee Brannan is likely to win over most of the Democrats and some of the Republicans. In the Senate Agriculture Committee the future of the program is in doubt. Title 2 of the present bill is the program which the Senate has enacted and has urged upon the House. And only substantial public pressure will make the Senate reverse itself. No senatorial action will simply bring the Aiken Act into operation next year.

If Congress acts on the Secretary's suggestions, the bad features of this law will never go into effect. Small farmers will not be cut down to 60-percent parity, which is worse than no support at all because it gives the farmer the illusion of a price floor by providing him with a basement which will always be far below market prices —unless there is a major depression.

The recommendation relating to modernization of the parity formulas will of course lower the parity price for wheat and consequently will be opposed by many wheat farmers, but this principle incorporated into the present Aiken Act never encountered much opposition anyway. Farmers who are realistic know that the American people will not stand for an obsolete parity formula which prevents them from sharing in technological and scientific progress. They know that the potato debacle threatened the whole price-support program and if they are wise they will support this particular recommendation of the Secretary which will bring parity up to date by making it reflect market conditions over a period of years.

Consumers will, or should be, attracted to the parts of the Secretary's program which provide for direct payments to producers of perishables and for production payments for increased livestock production. If these recommendations are put into effect by Congress, the consumer will benefit more from a farm program than he ever has before. The middlemen, processors and distributors for the first time will be on the outside looking in.

Brannan's recommendations to Congress were certain to precipitate violent controversy. But it is equally certain that the Secretary will not water down his program just because of opposition. He has spent a great deal of time working out this detailed plan, and he and his experts will stand by what they presented so unequivocally to Congressional agricultural leaders. Brannan is stubborn, once he has made up his mind. So is the President. Right now the Administration has chosen to stand or fall in 1950 and 1952, on the farm front, with Brannan's program. If Brannan is right, the political miracle of 1948 will become a habit as farmers, labor and consumers find common political goals.

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INTRIGUE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Rivalries and maneuverings among the Western Powers in the Eastern Mediterranean are aiding the Soviets

by J. T. Teller

THE BIG THREE of the Atlantic Pact —the United States, Britain and France—are agreed on the need for drafting the states of the Mediterranean region into the Western military alliance, but cannot agree on the precise nature of such alignment, whether it should be direct or subsidiary, through an interdependent regional-security pact.

This division of opinion is rooted in a basic disagreement among the Big Three with regard to the peacetime role each should play in that region. A direct consequence of this dissension was the failure to include Turkey in the Atlantic alliance, although America has poured millions into that country because of the general consensus that the Dardanelles might be one of the first targets for attack in the event of an East-West clash. The Turkish parliament was dismayed by the exclusion, particularly since Foreign Minister Nejmeddin Sadak had made several trips to Paris and London, where the opposition prevailed, to assure his country's inclusion, and since Italy, primarily a Mediterranean country, had been invited to join the North Atlantic Pact.

Press reports indicate that the primary opposition to Turkey came from Britain's Ernest Bevin. He would rather see her enlisted in an East Mediterranean alliance, formally distinct from the Atlantic Pact although interacting with it. This East Mediterranean plan is basically not new. First efforts in this direction began some two years ago, when the British sought to prevail on Turkey to join the League of Arab States. King Abdullah of Transjordan and the Iraqui Regent, as well as the sisters of King Farouk of Egypt who were ostensibly vacationing in Turkey, visited Ankara at that time in the hope of persuading Turkey to accept the Arab League proposals. Bevin's newest version, as reported in several responsible metropolitan newspapers, omits all mention of the too patently British-sponsored Arab League, and proposes instead that the East Mediterranean alliance in its initial stages consist of Italy, Greece, Turkey, France and Britain. While thus audaciously barring the US from direct participation, and hoping in this way to weaken America's peacetime status in the area, this scheme nonetheless seeks to precipitate American commitments in behalf of the new organization by making it a subsidiary of the Atlantic Pact.

However, the conspiracy to exclude the United States is too obvious. If the actual location of the mainland is a qualification for membership in the proposed alliance, France may have some claim to membership because of her Mediterranean shoreline, but Britain has none; if, conversely, it is based on interests in the Mediterranean area, then the US qualifies for membership no less than Britain and France although it has not a single protectorate, crown colony or mandate in the area.

America's emergence as a major Mediterranean power is so recent and has been so sudden that neither France nor Britain has had time to become accustomed to the new reality. It was Great Britain who helped make America Mediterranean-conscious (although eventual American awakening was inevitable) by enlisting our military collaboration on a global scale in World War II and welcoming our nominal presence in Iran a couple of years ago, when that country and neighboring Iraq seemed to be threatened by a Soviet demarche.

As a consequence of increasing calls on American collaboration in that region, most effectively dramatized by Britain's proposals, not so long ago, for a joint Anglo-American policy on Palestine, and recalling the shabby treatment accorded American business before the war by British, French and Dutch oil companies, American planners naturally proposed that it was high time to coördinate our financial and strategic interests, and for America to assert herself as an independent operator in the area, instead of relying on the mediation of European powers.

Even a quick glance at the map reveals the progress made by US interests in a couple of years. Without a single strip of Mediterranean soil actually administered by our country, the United States has become the foremost Western power in the region.

Both Yemen and Saudi Arabia, with American monies in their treasuries and dependent on American enterprise and technical assistance for the development of their resources, are solidly in the American orbit. Although hugging a policy of neutrality in the East-West conflict, Israel undeniably prefers America over other Western powers, if only for the reason that financial and moral support, as well as manpower reinforcements from the more than four million American Jews, are indispensable to the new state if it is to survive.

Egypt, vociferously xenophobic and implacably anti-British, is not averse to doing business with the US and accepting technical and financial assistance. This places America solidly on both the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. With Israel in control of strategic Elath, on the Gulf of Aqaba, British Far East traders nervously consider the prospect of an Israeli-American competitive combine. Britain's last toeholds in the region are Iraq, where pro-British Nuri as-Said Pasha rules through terror, and Transjordan.

By becoming partners in a Mediterranean alliance from which the United States is excluded, Britain and France hope to undermine somewhat American gains in the Mediterranean region and at least become mediators between the United States and the

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native governments. The inclusion of Turkey, keystone of any East Mediterranean alliance, in the Atlantic Pact, would only have increased American influence.

But added to these major obstacles to the extension of the Western alliance to the Middle East is the subsidiary quarrel between Britain and France. Wanting absolute domination of the area, Britain lent her moral support to Syrian and French nationalists at the end of World War Two with the result that France was forced promptly to terminate her mandate over Syria and Lebanon.

But France has never really abdicated her interests in the Levant strip of the Mediterranean region. She has been biding her time for a possible return and revenge on Britain. For several years now the Mediterranean experts of the Quai d'Orsay and the British Foreign Office respectively have been jockeying for position. Thus, it is general knowledge that leading Lebanese politicians, until recently members of the opposition, have been diligently conducting sub-rosa negotiations in Paris for two years.

Britain, conversely, has long entertained plans for a Greater Syria, which would be ruled by Abdullah, and in addition to Transjordan and Iraq would include all Palestine, Lebanon and Syria. Transjordanese agents have for several years been distributing arms among justifiably disaffected religious and ethnic minorities in Syria and Lebanon, in regions contiguous to Transjordan, in anticipation of a day when these groups would rise against their governments and invite Abdullah to annex them.

Hoping to effect a greater pro-British Arab union through the Arab League, Abdullah's British advisers have long discouraged him from making any untoward move against his neighbors while helping him prepare against the day when the Arab League might fail and a Greater Syria would be the only way to assure British dominance. That day now seems to have come as a consequence of the repercussions the emergence of Israel has caused in all Arab lands.

Abdullah's invocation of the British-Transjordan mutual-assistance pact, on the pretext that Israeli troops had made incursions into his territory, allegations recently disproved by UN observers, has not been lost on Lebanon and Syria. Abdullah's request that British troops take over patrolling of the Transjordan-Israeli frontier means to them that he wanted the Arab Legion relieved for operations elsewhere, and they were taking no chances.

An unofficial delegation was dispatched to Paris, for the second time in several months. Earlier they had sent delegations to negotiate new backing for their currencies, although the cocky Syrians early in 1948 renounced past financial arrangements with France and asserted that their currency required no foreign backing. This time the delegation was seeking military assistance. Before the French could move in to help the Syrian government, General Zayim, rumored to be pro-Greater Syria, effected a coup. This stroke, however, has no air of finality, and does nothing to resolve the Anglo-French conflict.

DRAWING BY MARVIN BILECK

Simultaneously with the news of the invocation of the British-Transjordan treaty by Abdullah, the story broke from Tel Aviv, under the byline of New York *Times's* Gene Currivan, that the French had promised the Lebanese-Syrian delegation they would send arms "for internal security," which within the context of current events in the Mediterranean region probably means arms for quelling uprisings by those of their nationals who might request annexation by Abdullah. Although a French Foreign Office spokesman has formally denied the Currivan report, it has received credence in high diplomatic circles in the Middle East, including Hakirya, where Israeli foreign policy is forged. The Israelis bitterly warn that such a move by France would be in violation of the UN Security Council's embargo on the shipment of arms and fighting personnel to the countries involved in the Palestine war. Although for the time being at least the arms would not be used against them, the Israelis are anxious nonetheless because the successful development of their country requires a tranquil Middle East.

The Western big-power intrigues in the Mediterranean area not only delay the extension of the North Atlantic Pact to that region, but produce combustive situations which give comfort —and maybe even aid—to the Soviets.

Desperate over the dangers created by Anglo-French-US dissension, Turkish Foreign Minister Nejmeddin Sadak may soon fly to Washington to tell our government bluntly what the score is. If his trip brings no results, he may become more amenable to the feelers put out by Israeli Prime Minister David Ben Gurion for the formation of a third bloc, a bloc of Middle East states to bar foreign intrigues and keep the area neutral in the event of an East-West clash. Not that the failure to bring about an Eastern Mediterranean alliance is discomfiting to Israel. Intent on steering a middle course between the two great-power blocs, Israel would be clamped in a Western vise should the proposed Western-backed Eastern Mediterranean alliance ever materialize.

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THE UNSEEN REVOLUTION

America's free-enterprise system is in danger from its own advocates—the biggest of the big businessmen

by Amos Basel

THE VANISHING AMERICAN of the twentieth century is the small businessman. He is being devoured, or as lawyers put it, "absorbed, merged and acquired," at such a rate that the whole process amounts to a little-publicized revolution in the American free-enterprise system.

Going on under the diverted noses of US consumers is a great upswing toward complete economic concentration. Between 1940 and last year, 2,450 independent manufacturing and mining firms disappeared by merger into gargantuan corporations, and this total includes only two areas of the whole American economy. These 2,450 formerly independent companies had assets worth $5.2 billion. They furnished competition among themselves and with the giant corporations that dominated their industries. Today, like the cigar-store Indian, they have vanished.

The present trend toward monopoly and bigness in American business is far more widespread, more important and involves much more money than ever before in our history. The period of the growth of the "trusts," from 1879 to 1894, when Rockefeller and Morgan led the way, looks like small potatoes in comparison.

New methods, entirely legal under present laws and court decisions, are being used to remove the small businessman from the market place. The trust had its beginnings in simple arrangements among competing businessmen concerning prices, markets, outlets. The next step was to establish such working arrangements legally. The tycoons devised "trusteeships" as an ideal method.

That type of trust is out of date and dead as a modern tool of monopoly. It had its day during the final quarter of the nineteenth century, when the railroad, oil, meat-packing and other big American industries were rising and sweeping across the continent. Under these trusteeships, the voting stock of the various companies to be brought together was placed in the hands of trustees who thereafter operated the combination for the benefit of the stockholders. Obviously, it wasn't of any benefit to the stockholders to allow the companies in the trust to cut one another's throats. Markets were allocated, prices were set, and everybody benefited except the competitors and the general public.

Rockefeller's Standard Oil Trust was the first such arrangement. The lead trust, the cottonseed-oil trust and others followed rapidly in its wake. The elimination of competitive business went forward at such speed that the public began to take notice and complain. The giants of American industry were threatening political democracy, some said. Legislatures were corrupted, public officials were bribed and the public clamor grew so great that Congress took action. It passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in 1890 with one dissenting vote.

This law declared that all combinations in restraint of trade were illegal. It contained provisions for jail sentences and heavy fines. Temporarily, at least, it threatened the trusts and halted the dangerous tendency toward monopoly. Between 1894 and 1896, not a single combination of importance was created. The businessmen who had organized this economic concentration liked the idea of staying out of jail. They stopped their now illegal actions. They waited to see what the Supreme Court would say about the Sherman Act. In the meantime, New Jersey passed legislation which made the holding company legal in that state. Many leading corporation lawyers were of the opinion that the Sherman Act did not apply to holding companies organized in and operating under the laws of New Jersey. The Supreme Court backed them up. In 1895, it held that the American Sugar Refining Company, a New Jersey holding company, could not be prosecuted as a monopoly under the Act. This, despite the fact that American Sugar Refining controlled 98 percent of the industry.

When the gates had thus been opened, the new gold rush to monopoly rapidly got under way. A little more than nine years after this ruling, 318 industrial combinations were in existence. They had a total capital of more than $7 billion. Of the 318 giants, 234, with capital of $6 billion, were organized between 1898 and 1904. The holding companies controlled two-fifths of the manufacturing capacity of the United States.

Once more, public opinion became aroused. This time the hue and cry was so loud that even the Republican platform of 1900 carried a mild anti-trust plank. As a result, when Theodore Roosevelt entered the White House by virtue of a historical accident, he had his party's lip service as a basis for his trust-busting activities. Even though such powerful figures as J. P. Morgan and James P. Hill were involved, the Northern Securities case was brought to trial.

In that action, the Supreme Court in 1904 broke up the holding company which had consolidated the Northern Pacific, Great Northern and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroads. Trust-busting became popular politically and a large number of anti-trust actions were carried on under Presidents Roosevelt and Taft. Corporation consolidations and mergers fell off.

Under the drive of Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom, the Federal Trade Commission Act and the Clayton Act were passed in 1914. These laws accepted the current con-

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centration of wealth in the United States, but were designed to control such economic concentration and prevent it from spreading.

More than half a century later after much political oratory, laws, legal actions and campaigns against monopoly, how does the picture look?

¶ In June, 1947, the 78 largest manufacturers held net working capital of $10 billion. These assets, in highly liquid form, were more than enough to purchase all the 50,000 manufacturers who listed individual assets of less than a million dollars each. The 78 had more than enough ready cash to buy out 90 percent in number of all US manufacturing corporations.

¶ Today there are 48 American corporations, each with assets of a billion dollars or more. Many of the 48 are richer than most state governments.

¶ Fifty percent of the nation's manufacturing plant is owned by 113 companies, each worth $100 million or more.

¶ The earnings of the small companies—those grossing less than $250,000 per year—made up 23.4 percent of the total gross income of all corporations in 1914. In 1942, these small companies grossed only 11.6 percent of the total, and the situation has rapidly worsened since that date.

¶ Five companies control more than 90 percent of the rubber-tire business; three companies, with annual sales in excess of $3 billion, do more than 86 percent of the cigarette business; 11 bank holding companies own or control 330 banks with 800 banking offices in 20 states and with aggregate resources of nearly $14 billion.

The same pattern repeats itself throughout our economy. How has this tremendous concentration come about despite all the laws on the statute books? Why the disappearance of the little fellow the anti-trust laws were to protect?

The present situation is largely the consequence of the corporations' discovering another loophole—one of the biggest of all time. The gateway to a large part of concentrated economic power lies in Section 7 of the Clayton Act. This section was intended to prevent companies from merging when such a merger would substantially lessen competition in the industry or tend to create a monopoly. The intent of the Act seems plain.

However, here is the loophole: the Act controls only stock mergers, *i.e.*, companies combining when one of them buys up the outstanding stock of the other. The Federal Trade Commission, charged with administering the Clayton Act, was given the power to prevent such mergers.

Unfortunately, the FTC was not empowered to stop one company from buying the physical assets of the other. For example, the tycoons discovered that if one company bought up the outstanding million shares of another company in order to control the market for a certain product, the FTC could step in and stop the action. But if the first company bought up the name, factory buildings, machinery, trucks and other physical and intangible assets of the second company, the FTC couldn't do anything. Such actions by corporations were perfectly legal and proper, even if they tended to create monopolies, because the law did not specifically prevent them. The intent of the Clayton Act died a horrible death in the process. It was often undesirable, however, to buy the assets first. A dodge was tried. The stock was purchased in violation of the law. The acquired stock was then voted to accomplish merger of the assets. Once the assets were owned, the argument was made that the Commission was helpless to act because the law allowed assets to be acquired. The Supreme Court decided, 5 to 4, that it was legal.

The next step in the final undoing of the Act was to buy the stock, and if the FTC went after you, to buy the assets. The Court again approved, also 5 to 4. At this point the Commission threw in the towel and ceased attempting to enforce this section of the law.

These Supreme Court decisions were handed down during the days of Coolidge and Hoover, when the Department of Justice paid little attention to anti-trust enforcement. It happened

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during the period when the Court held that US Steel and International Harvester were not monopolies since they achieved their size and economic power by lawful means. It was the postwar, loose-money, speakeasy age, and business was as fancy free as the rest of the population. Large wartime earnings were available for expansion and were used lavishly, unimpeded by legal hurdles. These attitudes, plus the lack of teeth in the Clayton Act, brought the second great merger era, which rose to its height in 1928 and 1929. Thus between 1919 and 1930, there were 7,259 mergers, 1,029 in the utility field alone.

Since the clear intent of the Clayton Act continues to be evaded, we are now in the midst of the third great period of merger. The FTC recently summed up the practical results of the law as it is now:

> The anti-trust laws condemn attempts to control the market by means of mutual understandings or agreements among competitors, but if the same objective is achieved through the purchase of physical properties . . . anti-trust agencies are powerless to act. In other words, the weaker, less effective methods of eliminating competition are prohibited, but the permanent and more effective method of consolidating ownership under a single management is permissible.

Not only are the federal enforcement agencies hogtied by the interpretation of this anti-trust legislation, they find that the harder they try to enforce the law, weak as it is, the

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more they defeat their own purpose. For when they move against "mutual understandings or agreements" among competitors, their actions are an inducement to those very same companies to get a move on and combine through legal means. An example of this is the cement industry. Liberals cheered loudly when the Supreme Court held that the basing-point system of price fixing in the industry was a violation of the anti-trust laws. However, while the case was being tried, from 1937 to 1948, more and more cement companies got together. The 10 largest companies now own more than 60 percent of the industry.

For 22 years the Federal Trade Commission, a bipartisan body, has unanimously urged the amendment of the anti-trust laws to eliminate this loophole. The Temporary National Economic Committee, also a bipartisan group, made a similar recommendation. In the 79th and 80th Congresses, Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D, Wyo.) and Representative Estes Kefauver (D, Tenn.) introduced bills to carry out such recommendations. The bills were blocked in committee. They have been reintroduced in this session by O'Mahoney and Kefauver in the Senate and Celler (N. Y.) and Hobbs (Ala.) in the House.

The greatest percentage of recent "asset acquisitions" has been in the food, non-electrical machinery, textiles and apparel, chemicals and transportation-equipment industries. In the past, these have been mainly areas of small business.

The big boys have moved in on such industries as steel drums, wine and tight cooperage, always considered a bulwark of small business. The great steel corporations have increased their ownership of steel-drum fabricating capacity from less than 10 percent before the war to 87 percent now. They have also gone into other types of fabricating. Since steel is scarce, they supply themselves first. The independent who can't get his materials from the giant corporations is driven into the gray market or the bankruptcy courts. The case of the Bronx contractor who was unable to bid on the job of building structural-steel skeletons for government hospitals in New York is fairly common. The only bidders were Bethlehem and US Steel. When the producer becomes the fabricator, competition exists only by his sufferance.

The activities of the distillers are typical. In order to guarantee themselves a supply of whisky barrels to age their stocks of alcohol, they took over 10 independent companies. These former independents made up almost 100 percent of the tight-cooperage industry in the United States. At the same time, the large distilling firms bought up nearly one-fourth of the nation's wine-storage capacity, and about one-half of all the aging wines. By 1946, the Big Four distillers held 75 percent of whisky stocks aged four years or longer.

Another acute danger to small business in the US economy arises from corporations which reach "backwards" to buy up suppliers. For example, during the war, Safeway Stores, Inc., now the nation's second largest grocery chain, grew from 966 to 2,442 stores. At the same time, it moved into the manufacturing field. Safeway purchased 12 meat packers, a gelatin-dessert manufacturer, a biscuit and cracker factory, a butter plant, and 15 cheese companies.

Such acts squeeze the small corner grocery or butcher shop particularly hard at a time when supplies are short and the market is tight. The independent finds it impossible to survive. He becomes dependent upon the large chain. His former supplier often becomes his competitor. As more and more suppliers are cemented into the country's monopoly structure, the chances of the small businessman's staying afloat get steadily smaller.

The merger of various types of unrelated business into one organization concentrates enormous economic power into the hands of a small group of men. Such power can then be wielded over many scattered industries. For example, the Universal Match Company purchased three candy-manufacturing companies. Only recently, Schenley Distillers changed its name to Schenley Industries. Its great variety of activities no longer was covered by the original name.

Another, American Home Products Company, a pharmaceutical concern, spread out into cosmetics, insecticides, dyes and paints, chemicals, waxes and polishes, and food specialties. If this conglomerate organization, for example, ever decided to drive an independent from the market, it could take a loss on its product in that field while financing the loss through profits on its other businesses. Such mergers are one of the major dangers to small business, and more than 22 percent of recent mergers were of this type.

If the economists' predictions that depression can only be avoided by lower prices and increased production are true, more monopoly will mean a bigger depression quicker. The favorite economic pastime of large corporations is to keep prices up, and output down, while salting away reserves for the "bad times ahead," which such actions make inevitable.

Study after study has shown that in times of deflation, competitive prices are forced down rapidly, while prices of products in monopolistic industries decline little, if at all. If the present trend toward monopoly continues, competitive American small business, the healthy core of free enterprise, will be destroyed. If that occurs, one of two things will happen: the nation will have to control industry, or be controlled by it.

There is still time to check the trend. A long, necessary step toward keeping the free-enterprise system free will be amendment of the Clayton Act. Of course, after the law is changed, rigorous enforcement measures will be necessary to outlaw mergers which tend toward monopoly. This in itself is not enough. But it is crucial in the fight to prevent giant corporations from continuing to increase their power at the expense of small business.

The continued life of the small businessman makes the free-enterprise system free. If he passes on it will die with him.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: A Colony of Spiders

FOR MANY MONTHS a colony of black-widow spiders has been busily weaving webs intended to cost the United States and its allies the fruits of the crushing defeat of Germany. They would restore to those who made Hitler possible the industries of the Ruhr, without which he would not have ventured to commit his depredations against the democratic nations of Europe. Conspicuous among them are members of the Cabinet, congressmen, diplomats and soldiers, as well as bankers and industrialists who have been commuting between Wall Street and Washington. In short, American military and civilian officials who are supposed to be solving problems in Germany, preparatory to the State Department assuming a jurisdiction and control that, so far, it has timorously evaded, have been rendering yeoman service to Wall Street financiers and German cartelists, preparatory to World War III.

Instead of listening to the shrill silences of the newspapers, which at times neglect to keep even themselves informed, the people should begin to din into the ears of their Congress their demand that the original plan to dismantle the Ruhr shall be followed without evasion or further delay. They should call for the names of those in the seats of the mighty who have been conspiring to sacrifice the interests of America, and with them any chance of world peace, to the gluttony of the bankers and the industrialists.

If the people should insist upon a searching inquiry by Congress, they would soon learn that the biggest black spider that has been quietly weaving the biggest web of them all is Secretary of the Interior, Julius A. Krug, the well-known textile-mill owner of Tennessee. This official, as to whom there have been suspicions of sympathy for Germany, may not be acting in his own behalf. But certainly he cannot be credited with solicitude for his country, or for world peace. It is he who, despite his seeming sloth, has been industriously working to the end that the unexpurgated Nazis of Hitler may be put again in a position to revive and enlarge the war industries with which Hitler broke the peace of Europe.

Harold Ickes is old enough to be called an Elder Statesman, but he is too salty for that label. He himself has cheerfully accepted the epithet of Curmudgeon, which likewise is insufficient in his case. A more accurate description would be that he is America's most venerable progressive and one of the stoutest fighters, at any age, for justice and good government. He entered national politics as a Bull Mooser in Chicago, stayed with the Republicans as long as he could stand it, and found his home in the New Deal as Franklin Roosevelt's first Secretary of the Interior, serving in that position and at numerous other important government tasks until resigning in 1946. With this issue he begins as a weekly contributor to the New Republic.

Prior to the resignations of Secretary Anderson of Agriculture and Secretary Harriman of Commerce, there was an active cabal in President Truman's Cabinet, the catalyst of which was Secretary Krug, attempting to reverse the policy of President Roosevelt with respect to the coal and steel of the Ruhr. The great war President had promised American fathers and mothers that the war potential of the Ruhr would be scattered and destroyed in grateful recognition of the sacrifice of their sons to Moloch. Naturally, these three associates had the support of ex-Secretary James Forrestal, who, although no longer connected technically with that important former financial ally of the Nazis—Dillon, Read and Company—was concerned about its fortunes.

What should be done with the war industries of the Ruhr was a pending question with the Cabinet for months. Finally, President Truman, yielding to the pressure of Messrs. Krug, Anderson and Harriman, appointed a Cabinet committee to make recommendations. He named as members Secretaries Krug, Anderson and Harriman, all of them vocal advocates of the policy of handing back what remained of the Ruhr industries to the Germans. No conflicting view was represented. This Cabinet committee, as is the Washington custom, proceeded to appoint a subcommittee, called a "Mission," to view the supposed *corpus delicti* and bring in a report. The Mission was selected personally by Secretary Krug. The four men constituting it were one Norman H. Collisson, a former naval captain, and sometime on the legal staff of United States Steel; Frank J. Baumis; Julius E. Grof; and Edward Falck. All of these men, particularly Captain Collisson, were close associates of and subservient to Secretary Krug, so that he was in control.

The reparations program itself was not supposed to be subject to the review of this Mission. Nor was it authorized to reëxamine the facts on which the reparations program was based. However, it did both of these things. One of the members of the commission spent approximately five weeks in Germany, and the others, two weeks. Chairman Collisson wrote the report and formulated the recommendations. As a contribution to the desired result, Paul G. Hoffman designated this same Collisson as ECA representative in Western Germany. The others, who had opposed the recommendations while in Germany, approved them later in Washington.

The supposed object of the Mission was to select a small group of plants which should be retained in Germany, the better to serve the purposes of European recovery. As a matter of fact, the report recommended the retention in Germany of practically every steel

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and heavy-industry plant on the reparations list, without regard to the possibility of utilizing the plants in Germany in the near future. The criterion actually applied was whether the plant could possibly be useful to the German economy *at any time in the future.* Despite the fact that an international agreement limited the German steel industry to 10.7 million tons annually, the Krug-controlled Mission recommended the retention of plants which would leave German steel capacity close to 20 million tons, with supporting capacity in steel finishing, processing and engineering. The Mission's recommendations would leave in Germany practically the entire plant capacity that existed there at the end of the war, plus that which has been rebuilt since 1945, minus only such plants as were classified as war plants.

The Krug-controlled Mission made no attempt to assess the needs of European countries for German machinery. It was concerned only with the needs of Germany. Pursuant to the recommendations, Germany would retain an industrial capacity much higher than it had in 1936, and almost as high as it had at the peak of its war production. As his contribution to World War III, General Clay even supported a $5-a-ton increase for German export coal which would place an added burden upon the steel industry of France and other countries.

The Mission naturally maintained intimate liaison relations with Secretary Krug, as well as with Ambassador Harriman. It seemed to regard the Department of State, and that of the Army, as alien organizations. The Mission recommended that Marshall Plan aid be used as a club to force the abandonment of most of the dismantling program. This was not alien to Hoffman's own desire. It proposed the scrapping of crucial American policies on the basis of the unsupported opinion of its own members that dismantlement was technologically wasteful and inefficient. Unfortunately for Captain Collisson and his merry men three, when their report was presented for signature by their principals, only Krug remained of the original Cabinet committee. Krug, of course, was more than willing to recognize the offspring of his personally selected Mission, but Secretaries Brannan and Sawyer, after careful consideration, declined to do so. So far as is know, the revival of the German Ruhr has never been presented to the entire Cabinet.

Whether instigated and directed by King and Collisson or not, an intensive underground campaign has been waged to undermine the German reparations program. According to an article in the November-December, 1948, issue of *Prevent World War III*, by Dr. Jean Pajus, a naturalized Frenchman who has won a high reputation in this country as an economist, "Many pro-German organizations, American firms with prewar economic tie-ups, several Senators and Congressmen, some Quakers such as Felix Morley, speaking for the Sun Oil Company, and others, have been involved in the program." The author also refers to the activities of the (Representative) Herter subcommittee on Germany, the chairman of which is Representative Francis Case of South Dakota; Professor Carl Friedrich of Harvard University; William H. Draper Jr., at the time Undersecretary of the Army, but now again a vice-president of the Dillon, Read firm; Professor William Elliott, also of Harvard, and close to former Reichs-Chancellor Brüning, as well as to Professor Friedrich. Dr. Pajus makes special mention of Representative John Taber, who, according to him, "refuses to listen to any arguments in favor of the Western Nations." He lists as the most active members of the Senate in the drive to eliminate German reparations, former Senator Henry Dworshak of Idaho and Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire. He alleges that the latter, when in Germany some months earlier, had publicly called upon General Clay to stop all reparations, regardless of the promises and agreements made with our allies.

There have been other powerful influences at work to bring to a stop the reparations and denazification programs that have been in progress, not only to destroy, or at least to modify, the German war potential, but to reimburse, in part, the Allied countries of Western Europe whose industrial plants had been ruthlessly destroyed by the Germans when they could not be dismantled and reassembled in Germany. The record shows that Secretary of the Army Royall (now, fortunately for the people, about to leave the government) testified before the subcommittee on appropriations of the House of Representatives on March 2, 1948. He admitted he had no sympathy with the prosecution of German war criminals in general. In reply to a question by Representative Wigglesworth, Secretary Royall replied "I do not think it would be terribly serious if we stopped them all. . . . The prime objective we have now in Germany, and that we must have now in Germany, is to build a strong nation, *both politically and industrially*" (italics mine).

It would appear that what America especially has to fear at this time is not active traitors within, or potential enemies without, who would strike a deadly blow at our vitals. So far as the present and the near future are concerned, what we should beware of are the Krugs, the Collissons, the Harrimans, the Drapers and the Royalls, men who are not necessarily wicked or unpatriotic. Such men, in their stupid disregard of what the Germans will do if given the chance, would restore to the Nazis of Germany, the war potential of the Ruhr upon which a new war machine could be erected. It may be that some of these Americans, and others who could also be named, are more fools than knaves, although in justice it must be said that some are more knaves than fools. Into whichever classification they may fall, it is the duty of America's President and America's Congress to protect from such dangerous machinations those overwhelming numbers of Americans whose only desire is to live in a world that is safe, not only from war, but from a threat of war.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE INFINITE CAPACITY OF WINSTON CHURCHILL

by James R. Newman

ON READING his memoirs it is hard to think of Winston Churchill as the disgruntled troublemaker he has become. He was not always so. Once he was no less than a savior of all that he now imperils. A patrician savior, a savior of empire and glory, but a savior too of the liberties and the decencies cherished by the men and women of Great Britain.

Their Finest Hour (Houghton Mifflin; $6) reviews events even more dramatic than those described in *The Gathering Storm*: the fall of France, the deliverance of Dunkirk, the fiasco at Oran, the threat of invasion, the Battle of Britain, the first victory in Africa, the destroyer-bases deal and the birth of lend-lease. What a feast for the historian, the diarist and the autobiographer.

Nonetheless, the second volume falls short of the first. Of course the prose is splendid and the Churchillisms are as apt and as gratifying as ever. Yet some of the magic is gone, perhaps because we, like Churchill, have outlived the glory. Having stayed, so to speak, beyond the third act, we are forced to witness a fourth of disillusion and betrayal. The pre-publication of a book in serials in the New York *Times* and *Life* magazine also has its drawbacks. The best anecdotes, the most quotable sentences are known and have been retold by the time the book appears, and thus the fine edge of the narrative is beveled off. Still, few would be unwilling to read again the quotation from Dr. Johnson ("Depend upon it, when a man knows he is going to be hanged in a month it concentrates his mind wonderfully"—vis-a-vis the attention given to the threat of invasion) or to hear once more about the Earl of Suffolk and his bomb-disposal squad, composed of his "lady private secretary" and his "rather aged chauffeur," who disposed of one bomb too many ("Up went the Earl of Suffolk in his Holy Trinity"). The book may not stand by passages like these, but they are sufficient to keep the reader going.

Churchill is seen here as the great *military* leader. (There is little reason to believe that this was President Roosevelt's strong point.) He follows the battle of France with a knowing if not always fully comprehending eye; he flies to Paris for military conferences and, after the German break-through at Sedan, inquires most knowledgeably of Gamelin, "Où est la masse de manoeuvre?" (Where is the strategic reserve?), to which that hapless and befuddled soldier replies, "Aucune"—"with a shake of the head and a shrug." He analyzes the collapse in France, taking upon Britain a full share of the blame, although just why the French army disintegrated so rapidly does not become clear; he instructs the War Office, the Admiralty (alas! not always successfully), General Wavell, and the ever obedient General Ismay, Deputy Secretary to the War Cabinet, on innumerable matters of logistics and maneuver; he emits an endless stream of suggestions for new weapons (*e.g.*, "the sticky bomb," tank landing craft), new strategies (*e.g.*, the assault on Oran, the first plan for North Africa), and new tactics (*e.g.*, commando raids); he orders this regiment returned from India and another sent in its place; he establishes the home guard and surveys the home defenses down to the last item on how the bells shall be tolled in case of a paratroop invasion: and so on and on in thousands of actions, decisions, minutes, directives, meetings, journeys and debates. Never outwardly discouraged, never failing in courage or resolve, resilient, aggressive, resourceful, enormously energetic, incredibly eupeptic, astonishingly magnanimous, never mean, sometimes snappish and often ironical: this was his bearing and demeanor during a period of trial such as few men, not excepting those in the annals of mythology, have been called upon to endure.

One finds in this volume disappointingly little about how Churchill discharged the great non-military responsibilities which, even in time of war, might fall to the leader of the state. How the British people got enough food, clothing, fuel, transportation, medicines, shelter and the like is scarcely touched upon. It must be assumed that Churchill either left these problems entirely to other ministers or, what is more likely, decided that to discuss such commonplace matters in his memoirs would impede the account. There is more to be learned of the affairs of procurement, and often Churchill is seen to pounce on officials whose departments lagged behind in the production of vital items.

As for proficiency in the sphere of international mendicancy, he is without a peer. How could either FDR or Congress have been expected to resist "Former Naval Person's" masterly pleas for aid; pleas as dignified as they were shrewd, as practical as they were moving; pleas for destroyers, rifles, ammunition and other armaments; for a note to Mussolini; for a visit of US warships to Eire; for an official pronouncement of American "concern" over the movements and disposition of the French fleet. Take as illustration his method of consummating the destroyer deal. From the start he made the President of the United States his personal confidant, a psychologically astute and immensely advantageous move which Machiavelli—I hope my reference will not be misunderstood—would have appreciated. He now bombards FDR with bad news—giving

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him a "frank account" so that "you will know exactly how we stand, that you will leave nothing undone. . . ." "Mr. President [he cables on July 31, 1940], with great respect I must tell you that in the long history of the world this [the transfer of the destroyers] is a thing to do *now*. . . . I know you will do all in your power, but I feel entitled and bound to put the gravity and the urgency of the position before you."

On August 7 he instructs Lord Lothian, by cable, to continue to press for the destroyers, at the same time expressing concern over the American request that the British give assurances their fleet will not be permitted to fall into enemy hands in the event Britain is overrun. There must, he insists, be no "bargaining or declaration about the future disposition of the British Fleet. . . . Above all, it is essential you should realize that no such declaration [that the fleet would be transferred to America] could ever be assented to by us for the purpose of obtaining destroyers or anything like that. Pray make it clear at once that we could never agree to the slightest compromising of our full liberty of action. . . ."

A few days thereafter he telegraphs Roosevelt, "I need not tell you how cheered I am by your message or how grateful I feel for your untiring efforts to give us all possible help." Nothing has actually happened in the interim to justify feeling thus "cheered." The destroyer deal is still hanging fire, but the bread-and-butter note is in Lothian's opinion "admirable" even if the bread and butter remains to be delivered.

And so with this consummate skill and admirable patience he advances the delicate negotiations, reporting to his War Cabinet with complete frankness, to Parliament with a reasonable facsimile thereof, to Roosevelt with as much frankness as prudence and circumstance seem to require, to the British people and to the world in an inspiriting blend of candor, defiance and mendacity. At last the deal is satisfactorily concluded in a whoop-de-do of innocuous compromises and little white hypocrisies, apparently necessary to placate both Congress and the Commons. Churchill's summary is a gem:

Thus we obtained the fifty American destroyers. We granted ninety-nine-year leases of the air and naval bases specified in the West Indies and Newfoundland to the United States. And thirdly, I repeated my declaration about not scuttling or surrendering the British Fleet, *in the form of an assurance to the President.* [My italics–J. R. N.] I regarded all these as parallel transactions, and as acts of good will performed on their merits and not as bargains. The President found it more acceptable to present them to Congress as a connected whole. We neither of us contradicted each other, and both countries were satisfied. The effects in Europe were profound.

It would please me if I had the space to reproduce here a considerable number of Churchill's brief minutes of instruction. They impart, it seems to me, an even more characteristic flavor of his thought and way of working than the main narrative. Perhaps a few may be permitted.

September 18, 1940 [a time, you will recall, when London was really catching it from the air]. *Prime Minister to First Lord*: "Surely you can run to a new Admiralty flag. It grieves me to see the present dingy object every morning."

The following I commend to all commanders-in-chief:

September 8, 1940. *Prime Minister to Secretary of State for War*: ". . . I hope that you will make sure that when you give an order it is obeyed with promptness. . . . In my experience of Service Departments, which is a long one, there is always a danger that anything contrary to Service prejudices will be obstructed and delayed by officers of the second grade in the machine. The way to deal with this is to make signal examples of one or two. When this becomes known you get a better service afterwards."

November 12, 1940. *Prime Minister to Sir Edward Bridges and General Ismay*: "The Prime Minister has noticed that the habit of private secretaries and others addressing each other by their Christian names about matters of an official character is increasing, and ought to be stopped. The use of Christian names in inter-departmental correspondence should be confined only to brief explanatory covering notes or to purely personal and private explanations.

"It is hard enough to follow people by their surnames."

December 22, 1940. *Prime Minister to First Sea Lord*: "Very soon the Baltic will be frozen. Let me know its state and future prospects. . . ."

Finally, it is gratifying to exhibit Churchill in one of his infrequent interludes of modesty. In the chapter on scientific developments of the war he comes out bluntly and says, "I knew nothing about science." This is amply borne out by Churchill's interesting theory on why Londoners did not suffer more illness than was actually the case, in view of the privations to which they were exposed. His hypothesis is that the various "mischievous microbes" killed one another off—and, he adds, "if this is not scientifically correct, it ought to be." Churchill is not one to be bullied by facts.

FATHER OF SWANN

LETTERS OF MARCEL PROUST. Translated and edited, with notes, by Mina Curtiss. Introduction by Harry Levin (Random House; $5).

THESE 241 Proust letters, admirably translated by Mina Curtiss, were selected by her from the *Correspondence générale* and the dozen or so other published collections of Proust's correspondence. The selection was made, the translator informs us, "primarily to provide readers of *Remembrance of Things Past* with clues to the development of the personality and the creative process out of which the novel grew." In fact, however, we learn surprisingly little about the growth of *Remembrance of Things Past* from these letters: we get some vivid glimpses of Proust's early social life, of his nervous testing of friendships and his scrupulous combination of honesty and courtesy; we see clearly the immense impact on him of his mother's death, and we watch him turn soon after into the complete recluse whose letters are themselves more and more designed "*à la recherche du temps perdu*," to recover the lost time and reach out to friends he can no longer visit by drawing on that portion of the past which he shares with them.

But even if the direct light thrown

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by Proust's letters on the composition of his masterpiece is less than we should have expected, it is interesting to note the gradual abandonment of the air of carelessness and even indifference with which he refers to his own writing in the earlier letters, until from about 1912 on we find an almost feverish desire to explain himself and make clear what he was doing as a novelist. As the manuscript grew nearer completion and he began to worry about publication (and he had enough trouble on that score) he became less able to sustain the air of studied affection or courtesy that is the predominant tone of his letters as a whole, and he talked more and more about his work. His letters during the concluding months of 1912 are full of the novel and of publishing plans for it. He justified this spurt of activity on behalf of his book in his remark to his old friend Madame Straus, written in November, 1912: "I feel so strongly that a piece of work is a thing which, although born out of ourselves, is still worth more than we are, that I find it natural to take trouble for it, like a father for his child." About the same time he wrote a full account of the work to Antoine Bibesco:

Du côté de chez Swann is the fragment of a novel, which will have as general title *A la recherche du temps perdu*. I should have liked to have published it as a single whole, but it would have been too long. . . . There is a plane geometry and a geometry of space. And so for me the novel is not only plane psychology but psychology in space and time. That invisible substance, time, I try to isolate. But in order to do this it was essential that the experience be continuous. I hope that by the end of my book what I have tried to do will be understandable; some unimportant little event will show that time has passed and it will take on that beauty certain pictures have, enhanced by the passage of the years.

Then, like a city which, while the train pursues its winding course, seems to be first on our right, then on our left, the varying aspects the same character will have assumed to such a degree that they will have made him seem like successive and different characters, will project—but only in that one way—the sensation of time passed. . . .

Voluntary memory, which is above all the memory of the intelligence and of the eyes, gives us only the surface of the past without the truth; but when an odor, a taste, rediscovered under entirely different circumstances evoke for us, in spite of ourselves, the past, we sense how different is this past from the one we thought we remembered and which our voluntary memory was painting like a bad painter using false colors. . . .

After publication he is busy pointing out to offended friends that they are *not* the characters in his books that they think they are—that all the characters are imaginary, though each has touches here and there suggested by a variety of real persons. From now on until the end he is explaining himself. The second last letter in the volume is an explanation provided in answer to questions put by the writer and critic Camille Vettard: the hand of death was already on Proust when he dictated it, and the effect on his prose style is clear even in translation:

I should like to answer your questions at length, but I am practically dead, and my reply would be almost the votive offering of a dying man. What I should like people to see in my book is that it sprang wholly from the application of a special sense (at least that is what I believe), which is very difficult to describe (like trying to describe sight to a blind man) to those who have never exercised it. But that is not true of you and you might understand me if I merely give you the (very imperfect) simile (you will certainly find a much better one yourself), which seems to me the best (at least at the present time) to explain what this special sense is. It is perhaps like a telescope, which is pointed at time, because a telescope reveals stars which are invisible to the naked eye, and I have tried (I don't, however, attach any special value to my simile) to reveal to the conscious mind unconscious phenomena which, wholly forgotten, sometimes lie very far back in the past. . . .

Although the reader of Proust will turn to these letters for passages like those just quoted, they will, in fact, tell him less about Proust's novel than many a contemporary critic will. But they do shed light on himself. His letters to Robert de Montesquiou (who, in spite of Proust's denials, was in part the model for the Baron de Charlus) give us some valuable insights into Proust's attitude to society and to some of its more eccentric members, and show, too, that the almost strained honesty of most of his letters could give way to something rather like hypocrisy when it was a matter of keeping a unique social specimen under observation. (Yet there was much more than this to it: the record of Proust's final efforts to help the aged and neglected Montesquiou is strange and moving.) His correspondence with Madame Emile Straus is a fruitful story of genuine friendship with a touch of maternal feeling on her side and (especially after his mother's death) of filial feeling on his.

Anybody interested in deciding the silly question whether Proust was himself really snobbish can find plenty of material for an answer in these letters (he answered the charge directly more than once). It is interesting, too, to see Proust as an ardent Dreyfusard —in fact, as he claimed, the first. His curiously tolerant French patriotism, which led him, Dreyfusard and half-Jewish though he was, to defend clericalism in the interests of French unity (see a remarkable letter to Georges de Lauris, July 29, 1903), provides something of a clue to the standards of civic morality implicit (though not easily discernible) in his novel.

Professor Harry Levin contributes an introduction which discusses Proust and his work with grace and facility, though occasionally with rather more elegance than meaning. But what is this most consciously urbane of American critics doing with an opening sentence he would not tolerate in the meanest Ph.D. thesis? This is how the introduction begins: "The correlation between a writer's experience and his writing, which is seldom coincidental, was never less so than in the case of Marcel Proust."

David Daiches, author of A Study of Literature, is professor of English and chairman of the Division of Literature at Cornell University.

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WORRIED TEACHERS

SOME THOUGHTS ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION, by Sir Richard Livingstone (Macmillan; $1).

EDUCATION AND THE UNIVERSITY, by F. R. Leavis (George W. Stewart; $2.75).

THE MOST EXCITING of all vocations is teaching. What better work could one have than that of trying to gather up the wisdom and sensitiveness which mankind has thus far won and of so using this wealth that one's pupils may be led not only to share in past gains, but also to join eagerly and independently in the common striving to create still finer and more generous sensitiveness, still wider and deeper wisdom? As compared with that calling, others, however necessary, seem pale and dull. If, then, a reader wishes to feel the thrill of our most exciting activity, he will do well to study these two brief books written recently by English university teachers. He might also compare them with another book written, last year, by the president of Harvard (*Education in a Divided World*, by James Bryant Conant, reviewed in the *NR*, January 31).

In each of these discussions there runs through the words the informed passion of a man who has found something to do that simply must be done. But all three sets of ideas, especially if they are taken together, will plunge the reader into frustration and bewilderment. Apparently, what must be done cannot be done. Out of this double experience, one may get a sense of what it means today to teach for a civilization which does not know its own purposes, which is so blinded by the conflicts of its own interests, its own ideas, that it cannot see through them into its own meaning of peace and of truth. What lessons, then, have we to teach? That is the question these books are considering.

The English inquiries here under review have special interest for readers in the United States because each of them, at a critical turn in the argument, seeks to establish connection with American thinking on the same problem. Livingstone, in his penetrating and eloquent lecture on university education, finds guidance in the Harvard Report (*General Education in a Free Society*). And Leavis, too, as he plans for the reconstruction of the English School at Cambridge, takes his start and, perhaps, something of his daring from the published record of the Experimental College at the University of Wisconsin. In this latter case, Leavis does not approve the choice of the materials to be studied. They seem to him to provide no guarantee of that "discipline of intelligence and sensibility" which is, for him, the primary factor in genuine education. And yet, the general idea of the venture, its formulation of the thing that needs to be done, he finds strongly persuasive. He inclines, also, to follow closely many of the methods of teaching and of examining which were used in the Wisconsin adventure.

These two men of Oxford and Cambridge are agreed, as are most of their American colleagues, that there is a basic conflict between the efforts of the researcher and the efforts of the teacher. They agree too that in recent times the attitudes and methods by which men pursue new knowledge have, more and more, gained control over the educational program. And, since the activities of the scholars tend to fall apart into multitudes of specialized and separate inquiries, it has become evident that teaching has lost its unitary meaning. Pupils are now taught how to acquire this or that bit of knowledge; they are not taught how to understand knowledge, or anything else. Education has, thus, been replaced by training, the pursuit of understanding by the acquiring of information or of skills.

On both sides of the ocean, therefore, it is now recognized that the "elective system" has had its day. Unwittingly, our teachers, in their subservience to "Knowledge," have been allowing the attempt to become intelligent about men and their world to break down into mutually unintelligible fragments. That damage must now be repaired. Humanity must be saved from its intellectual blundering. But the restoration of education to vitality and unity will become possible only as, in the minds of teachers and pupils alike, those fragments of knowledge called "subjects" are united again as factors in a single inquiry.

The proposals for unification offered by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford and the Fellow of Downing College differ characteristically from those of Harvard's president. Both Englishmen turn back to a "tradition," to something already in cultural possession. They write, therefore, with the assurance of men who are demanding the recovery and the reaffirmation of an ancient Faith. Dr. Conant, on the other hand, like most of his American associates, is trying to discover—or perhaps better, to create—something new. He does not lack social or political commitment. And yet, comparatively speaking, his thinking explores, or even fumbles, its way forward with no accredited guidance from the past. As that comment is made, it must also be noted that Chapter VII of *Education in a Divided World* seems to this reviewer unique in the significance and validity with which it defines the place of scientific method in the work of general education.

Livingstone's book of twenty-eight pages contains only a single lecture. It argues that the needed unity can be won for teaching only if the influence of religion, with its interpretation by philosophy, is given a dominant place in the plan of education. A general course in philosophy is proposed. As a defining of purpose, this suggestion goes straight to the heart of the matter. In our European and American past, religion and philosophy have been the instruments of unification. But they have now broken down. The failure of our teaching is their failure. Can they be mended? If not, what shall replace them? With those urgent and bewildering questions, Livingstone's brief paper has no time to deal.

Leavis takes more time. His book gives to American readers five papers published, under the same title, in England in 1943, with a sixth paper now added. His suggestion for the

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winning of unity resembles in external form that of the Experimental College. A good program, he thinks, might be constructed by combining studies of several related cultural episodes. But those studies, he contends, should be primarily literary. Not too clearly, he tells us that the discipline of literature would make use of "all other subjects." "The point is," he says, "that everyone would have been required to come to fairly close terms—the work must be thorough enough to justify that claim—with other fields of study, other trained approaches and other disciplines, than the literary."

As the reviewer attempts to grasp the meaning of this undeveloped idea, he is, first of all, impressed by the vigor and sanity of the writer's own theory and practice of literary criticism. Leavis is saying something which deserves, and is getting, serious consideration. The long and strenuous campaign of *Scrutiny* is winning ground. And one cannot help wishing that, either at Cambridge or elsewhere, Leavis might be given the chance—and the heavy burden—of transforming his notion into a concrete plan of teaching procedures. One wonders what it would be like. How, for example, would it resemble, and how differ from, the program which was worked out in a like search for unity, at St. John's College in Annapolis?

But, second, the evidence presented does not make clear that the "discipline of literature" is adequate to the task which Leavis assigns it. Other subjects too, as he recognizes, have their disciplines. And they can be unified only as their disciplines are unified. But that requires of us that we build up a method of thinking, of understanding, which will not only cover the scope of all knowledge but will also include all methods of knowing within a single method. Can literature do that work? To the reviewer it seems probable that literary study might do it better than any other single form of specialized inquiry. And yet, just as Conant's argument has effectively disposed of the more popular suggestion that all knowledge might be unified by science, so the corresponding conclusion applies to literature. As matters now stand we have no single intellectual discipline which will do the work that is needed. When such an inclusive, organizing discipline is devised we shall, presumably, call it a "philosophy." But that, alas, is not what philosophy has been meaning, at least in the last half-century.

Are we down-hearted? The desperate task to which Livingstone and Leavis summon us is very much like, if not identical with, that which the United Nations has undertaken in the political field. In both cases, separate sovereignties have welded into separate unities huge masses of power or of knowledge, and by so doing have created sharper and more vicious misunderstandings among them. The Sciences, the Arts, the Social Sciences, Philosophy, are divided from one another as are Britain, China, the Soviet Union, India, Greece, and the rest. But now, in the affairs of men, the tide seems to be at the turn. Disintegration and chaos have run their course. We human beings have undertaken to create One World, One Intelligence, One Education. That attempt has not failed. It is just beginning. ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN

Alexander Meiklejohn, former president of Amherst College, has been a professor of Philosophy and a leader in the education field. His most recent book was Free Speech and Its Relation to Self-Government.

CRISIS IN ART

JOAN MIRÓ, by Clement Greenberg (The Quadrangle Press; $10).

IF THE IDIOM of modern art is not queer or abhorrent to you, you will find this book, illustrated by six color plates and more than a hundred monochromes, a fascinating as well as attractive presentation of the work of one of the leading figures in contemporary painting.

This is possibly a strange way to begin a review of a book on an important artist of our times, since the reviewer should assume that anyone interested enough to read such a review, and perhaps even to buy the book, must already be well acquainted with its subject. But if readers are

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acquainted with Miró's work, the kind of critical exposition it demands would have to be somewhat less fragmentary than the essay Clement Greenberg has provided. If we assume that the purpose of the book is to widen Miró's public and generally to further the understanding of what the modernists are doing, then Greenberg's introduction is not sufficiently simple.

I say this not so much as a criticism of Greenberg—his essay is superior to many others of a similar nature—I am merely taking this opportunity to point out a difficulty inherent in our present cultural situation. It resolves itself to the fact that the writer who wishes to speak seriously of modern painting, music or poetry does not know exactly whom he is to address. If he is speaking to a coterie of "insiders" he shows symptoms of an unhappy isolation which occasionally expresses itself as a martyred superiority but more often breathes an insidious sense of futility.

Greenberg, the art critic for both *Partisan Review* and the *Nation*, is clearly a thoughtful, sensitive, conscientious person. He has good things to say about Miró, whose work he finally defines as a kind of decorative grotesque. But he arrives at this conclusion by a rather uncomfortable path that is laid out for him by a psychological constraint rather than by any literary disability. One of the marks of this constraint is an almost neurotic shrinking from emotionalism, which such a critic usually equates with sentimental impressionism and ultimately with philistinism. This leads to the kind of descriptive criticism (the equivalent of literary semanticism) that employs technical jargon like a crutch: "The quasi-geometrical regularity with which [the objects] are modelled comes from Cubism but it also recalls the conventionalized modelling in Miró's favorite Romanesque frescoes (which had been taken over from Byzantine mosaics, where it was the result in turn of adapting the shading and modelling of Graeco-Roman painting to the less flexible medium of tessellation)."

I doubt that this sort of writing is valued by practising craftsmen; I know it is useless to the uninitiated. The constraint I speak of also causes Greenberg to make historical and philosophical suggestions which are interesting but rarely complete or wholly intelligible. They are based on hypotheses that he hesitates to reveal either because, if understood, they might prove unpopular, or because he is still too tense to think them through to a mature and simple formulation. Sometimes he writes (and this, I repeat, is true of many of his fellow critics who are less gifted and sincere) as if he were living in a cave.

Modern art, I believe, need not be esoteric. It is essentially no more difficult to grasp than the art of any other period. The means whereby a Miró, for example, has turned the fearful into a kind of nursery playfulness, and playfulness into a form of horror, is something that should not be too difficult to elucidate to any sensitive person of average education. This would mean popularization, but if modern art has importance—as I believe it does since it reflects our lives and our times—the art critic today must undertake it. Indeed the calculated effort to popularize modern art —not to vulgarize it, but to disclose its fundamental motives in widely negotiable language—would help cure some of the diseases that modern art and its critics mutually suffer.

HAROLD CLURMAN

MAN OF THE TRANSITION

THOMAS MORE, by R. W. Chambers (The Newman Press; $4).

CITIZEN THOMAS MORE AND HIS UTOPIA, by Russel Ames (The Princeton University Press; $3.50).

ON NOVEMBER 1, 1517, Luther nailed his 95 theses to the church door at Wittenberg. On the third of November, 1917, began the Bolshevik Revolution. These dates, by an obliging coincidence, and as neatly and approximately as any others, enclose the "modern era, which under our eyes is ceasing to be modern and is passing into history." An understanding of our own day, a transitional period at the end of this era, will be greatly aided by a study of the transitional period which began it. Invaluable for the purpose is R. W. Chambers' biography of Thomas More, "the last great man who lived the whole of his life with the England of the Middle Ages still undestroyed around him."

Thomas More was originally published in England (1936), after more than thirty years of research. The work enjoyed the advantage of newly discovered material in the field, but its authority and beauty are a triumph of more than scholarship; a sympathetic understanding of More himself persuasively establishes points which scholarship could only argue.

The complex character of Thomas More is not easy to portray; Erasmus, who attempted it, declared the task beyond him. It is too likely to result in a mere catalogue of superlatives attempting to sum up the "English ideal" which More was generally considered to represent. Indeed, says Chambers, it is "that atmosphere of blamelessness which is the greatest difficulty with which More's biographer has to cope."

More's many-sided character is displayed by Chambers in its numerous activities: the father of the family and master of the house in Bucklersbury and at Chelsea; "that worthy and uncorrupt magistrate," the idol of London citizens; the courtier and man of affairs; the patron of Holbein; and, as one of the great Humanist scholars of the day, the intellectual center, one might almost say, of England.

Always present in the story, balanced against the figure of More, is that of Henry VIII, embodiment of the rising class which knows in More its natural antagonist. Chambers' buoyant, inventive detestation of the Tudor king is one of the liveliest aspects of the book. To contrast the two figures, for instance, "in the field of scholarship," Chambers says that "Henry's achievement was really remarkable. There were four great international scholars, and, in England, two great patrons of learning. Of the six, Henry cold-

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shouldered Erasmus out of England, imprisoned Vives, decapitated More and Fisher, and frightened Wolsey to death." More perished, but it was the achievement of Henry's so-called "triumphant reign" to destroy with unprecedented thoroughness the culture, the world, it had inherited.

During the modern era (which Henry helped inaugurate) More has figured as a curiously persisting hero. But his eminence, as Chambers reviews it, "has not been altogether to the advantage of his reputation." Infatuated misunderstanding has repeatedly made More over in its own image —and then caviled at More's failure to square with it. "We have More depicted as a Renaissance scholar of that liberal type," but his champions lack patience with, say, his "conscientious scruples," so "we are to believe that later, as More's arteries hardened, so did his views." And so, for four hundred years, "Protestant has passed into Whig, and Whig into Liberal, and the same lament has been made, generation after generation; 'So wise, and yet he could not, or rather would not, see things as I do'."

But the unity of More's life and work is the thesis of Chambers' book. "The charges of inconsistency against More arise," he claims, "from our forgetting that his life falls in this stage of English medieval Catholicism." The error has been to mistake for the sentiments of "progress"—Reformation, Enlightenment, Liberalism —the "Catholic, medieval, collectivist hopes" which were the doomed impulse of More's life.

Catholic, medieval, collectivist: in these three senses, "from *Utopia* to the scaffold, More stands for the common cause, as against the private commodity of the single man, or even the single kingdom." And at his trial before the judges of Henry VIII, "to the argument that he was opposing the Council of the realm, More replied by appealing to the general Council of Christendom." Anterior, however, to any defense of his convictions, is the integrity of the individual conscience which recognizes a law superior to any that may be devised by the despotic state. So that when More wrote *The Dialogue of Comfort* as a prisoner in the Tower, "he is no longer defending this dogma or that; he is defending the right of the individual soul, against the command of the civil power, to hold any dogma at all." And when he died on the scaffold he witnessed "the right of the free man not to be compelled to say that which he does not believe." It is in large measure for this principle that he has become the darling of such an incongruous variety of interests. However, More was not a martyr to an abstract principle, but to that principle as embodied in his faith, and with the last words of his life he asked those present to "bear witness with him that he should now suffer death, in and for the faith of the Holy Catholic Church."

Russel Ames's book, also valuable, covers much the same ground, although he proceeds from another starting point and with a different emphasis. His interest is not predominantly biographical, but in the social and political theory embodied in the *Utopia*; always cognizant, however, of "the close relationship between More's life and his book, and of the fundamental consistency of his thought." In general, when they consider the same aspects of the subject, Ames expresses himself in agreement with Chambers (to whom he pays generous tribute). He makes a tentative exception, however, to Chambers' insistence on the unity in More's life and thought. "What did it mean then to be pro-Papal?" Ames wants to know. "What did it mean to be orthodox and medieval in one's social views? For what is it that More gave his life? There is no easy answer to these questions. . . ."

Which is not to be taken, I presume, for the same thing as no answer at all. For the first book answers these questions as they pertain to More, and answers them for the most part in More's own words. If More is not as explicit as one could ask, the fault lies with language itself as communication.

JOHN FARRELLY

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MUSIC: Operas, Haitian and Egyptian

"TROUBLED ISLAND," an opera with music by William Grant Still and a libretto by Langston Hughes, was given its world première on March 31 by the New York City Opera Company, now in the midst of its spring season at the City Center. It is not an impressive work, and public response to the music was friendly and sympathetic rather than genuinely enthusiastic. A glorified and somewhat laborious Haitian operetta, without much musical or theatrical adroitness, "Troubled Island" is unlikely to outlive its first season.

Yet the occasion was important, even historic. For William Grant Still and Langston Hughes are Negroes, and no major opera company in the world has ever before produced an opera by a Negro composer and librettist. The Chicago Opera gave Still's ballet, "La Guiablesse," back in the thirties, with Ruth Page as choreographer and Katherine Dunham as one of the principal dancers, but the piece was only half an hour long, and anyway ballets are always side issues with opera companies. Now, eleven years after he wrote it, Still has finally seen a full evening (and two repetitions) devoted to his *chef d'oeuvre*. The event was as epoch-making in its way as the invasion of Broadway by Will Marion Cook's "In Dahomey" in the nineties; the first appearance a generation later of Abbie Mitchell, with a white cast, in the title role of "Aïda"; or Canada Lee's performance as Caliban in "The Tempest."

The presentation of an opera by Negro authors is the logical final step in the City Center's enlightened nonracial policy, which long since promulgated the principle that Negro singers need not be cast to type. The cast of "Troubled Island" was mixed; the makeup was handled with such skillful uniformity that I wondered idly whether some of the singers I did not know were white or Negro.

"Troubled Island" really ought to have turned out better than it did; its plot materials are excellent for operatic purposes. The story tells of the rise to power of Jean Jacques Dessalines, a former slave who led a revolt in Haiti after the death of Toussaint L'Ouverture in 1803, and of his downfall and assassination when he overreaches himself and antagonizes his subjects. But Hughes's libretto is spotty and diffuse, and the words lurch back and forth between the vernacular and the self-consciously poetic. The opera arrives at an embarrassing finish in the form of a sentimental variant of the Liebestod, in which Marie Powers (as the faithful Azelia, who has persisted in loving Jean Jacques even after he has pushed her aside in favor of a mulatto mistress) is required to kneel over the lifeless body of Robert Weede (as Dessalines), singing, "You are dead, but I live to kiss your scars."

The music creates little atmosphere; it is full of pale echoes of Gershwin, Debussy and Delius, and it is frequently inanimate rhythmically. The company did its best, however, to make something lively of the piece. The settings were properly colorful; most of the singing and acting remained on a reasonably high level. Jean Destiné, a Haitian, was commissioned to provide authentic dances, which would have been an asset if he had not made them so night-clubby.

A week later the New York City Opera added Offenbach's "The Tales of Hoffmann" to its repertory. The production, directed by Leopold Sachse, displayed a good deal of imagination. The prologue, interludes and epilogue took place downstage in front of a scrim curtain, which became transparent for the three narratives of Hoffmann's ill-starred loves. Virginia MacWatters was an amusing, if vulgar, mechanical doll; Wilma Spence, a statuesque young woman with a sumptuous voice, was effective as the Venetian courtesan; and Ann Ayars, one of the loveliest ornaments of this or any opera company, was infinitely touching as the tubercular Munich maiden, Antonia. In the arduous role of Hoffmann, which requires a sturdy voice and a real romantic flair, Robert Rounseville, a young tenor out of night clubs and musical comedy, indicated that a fine career lies ahead of him.

Over the radio and television, on two successive Saturday afternoons, Arturo Toscanini conducted Verdi's "Aïda" on the installment plan. Great interest attached to these performances, for Toscanini's dealings with this magnificent war-horse of the Italian repertory had not been heard in this country since 1915, when he last conducted it at the Metropolitan. Moreover, "Aïda" was the opera in which he made his debut as a conductor when he was 19, pinch-hitting in Rio de Janeiro, where he had gone to play cello in the opera orchestra.

To the spectacular ensemble scenes in the first two acts Toscanini imparted a truly wonderful majesty, piling up chorus, orchestra and soloists in mass sonorities of tremendous richness, clarity and rhythmic breadth. The orchestral portion of the score, played by the NBC Symphony Orchestra, was a delight, and we discovered that Verdi's orchestration is much finer-grained and more resourceful than the slipshod performances at the Metropolitan have led us to think.

The solo vocal parts, unhappily, were on the whole a disappointment. To begin with, Toscanini should have used absolutely first-rate artists. But even the conscientious people he did employ were frequently inhibited by the speed and rigidity of his tempos, which too often allowed little or no latitude for expressive vocal coloration. The personal aspects of the drama were largely frozen out, and all we heard was half a dozen earnest singers scrambling to toe the mark. The performance was a less memorable realization of a masterpiece than his "Otello" and "La Bohème" of other years.

CECIL SMITH

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ON THE AIR: Prize Day

EVERY YEAR about Easter time, awards bloom all over the airscape. Some of the selections are good, some are bad, but the great majority suffer from the fact that, in a field where over-all performance is the important consideration, the focus is too selective.

I know of only one organization that tries to strike a balance, to admonish as well as praise: the Radio-Television Critics Circle of New York. The others judge what the producers choose for judgment, and even then the results are sometimes startling. For example, an award given in the name of the late Alfred I. Du Pont was presented this year to an outstanding tory commentator, Henry J. Taylor, whose weekly rationalization of the NAM line on the ABC network is sponsored by General Motors. In another case, the George Foster Peabody award, from the University of Georgia, was given to a network for an extremely bad documentary. At the same ceremony, however, the judges honored a series of jingles called "Little Songs about the UN."

These typical one-minute radio "spots" were conceived by Ted Cott, program vice-president of WNEW. He produced the six songs on records and provided 1,000 free copies to as many radio stations in the country. The plan was executed by the UN's own radio division; the songs were written by the ex-Tin Pan Alley team which two years ago did the "tolerance" jingles: lyricist Hy Zaret and composer Lou Singer.

The real surprise is that, according to Cott and the UN, the 1,000 radio stations have actually played this jingle series. But it is not so amazing when you look at the dossiers of other groups specializing in "message" transcriptions. An outfit that has been successful in the field for a number of years is the Institute for Democratic Education.

The IDE is now circulating its twelfth series of programs. Each series consists of 13 quarter-hour shows. No. 11 has been played by a total of 900 radio stations. The new group, released last fall, was used by 408 stations up to April 1, but so far it has been offered only to the outlets of higher wattage.

I listened to a few of the shows in this latest series—"Stories to Remember," produced by Harold Franklin, the IDE's program director. The general title is apt. The package offers dramatizations of Irwin Shaw's "Act of Faith" from the *New Yorker*, MacKinlay Kantor's "That Greek Dog" from the *Saturday Evening Post*, Claudia Cranston's "Rosika the Rose" from the *Atlantic Monthly*, and other memorable short stories, including B. J. Chute's "The Outcasts" from *Collier's*.

Earle McGill, as director, gave each of the 13 shows a quality that's sharp, clear, pungent. His casts included Ralph Bellamy, Raymond Massey, Stefan Schnabel, Melvyn Douglas, Geraldine Fitzgerald, Betty Garde, and these stars he backed up with some of the best supporting players in professional radio. The total effect recreates a type of radio in which McGill pioneered about a decade ago on the old "Columbia Workshop."

An important part of the IDE's technique is the encouragement of local-station discussion forums which are often scheduled to follow the broadcast of the dramatization. Some 50 stations around the country have thus far made the forum part of the IDE's program. Thus, if the show one week touches upon anti-Semitism, or the trials of a Slovak family, the forum is built on the same subject, with local participants.

Certainly, this IDE series will be among this year's award receivers. It will be a pity if another IDE group is overlooked. This latter project will be broadcast on only some 50 stations—roughly the number in the United States that use the Italian language. The 13 shows, titled *"Il Prossimo Tuo"* ("The Man Next Door"), were produced under Franklin's supervision by Arnold Hartley, program director of Station WOV, New York, which specializes in Italian-language broadcasting. The programs go far beyond the static teachings of Rotarian Americanism. They treat the immigrant and his problems with dignity, and are a contribution to cultural integration rather than to "assimilation" along unilateral Anglo-Saxon concepts.

Stations in general are not afraid to use programs like the IDE series, despite their decidedly liberal tinge—if only the production is "good radio." An example of such recordings is the work of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons. This group pushes a propaganda line unpalatable to many broadcasters, advocating the admission

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of 400,000 DP's on a really humane basis. Under Ted Hudes, the committee has produced 24 programs in the last 20 months. The DP shows vary in length, format and technique. But each, in its own way, delivers its message. And because they are done with radio know-how (and offered free) some of them have been played on as many as 900 stations.

The outstanding two of the DP group are "Plymouth Rock: 1949," and "The Man with a Cause." The second was praised here about a year ago—it is a documentary written and directed by Mitchell Grayson. The first is a 15-minute ballad session, sung by Ray Middleton, with lyrics by Paul Tripp and music by George Kleinsinger. Why shouldn't the local stations use such material? It's as good as anything ever offered to them by a network—and most of the locals have no network affiliation. SAUL CARSON

MOVIES: Red-Tape Melodrama

ONE OF THE ATTRACTIVE ironies of recent criminal history is that a number of the most powerful and dangerous gangsters of the era have been laid by the heels for an offense they would have much preferred not to commit. Failing to convict them of murder, larceny, blackmail, arson and similar ferocious malpractices, the government trapped them for the comparatively mild offense of cheating on their income tax. The mobsters were eager to stay honest with the Treasury —but how do you report an income of, say, $500,000 when you have no visible means of support?

Out of this gangland dilemma, Columbia Pictures has made "The Undercover Man," the latest in a series of Treasury Department pseudo-documentaries. The probability is that the producers stuck fairly close to material in old departmental files, with the result that the picture is less invigorating than the old, uninhibited Muni and Robinson sagas. Adding machines steal the act from the machine guns, and you find yourself wondering if the gore will ever begin to flow. If Hollywood wants to go on playing cops and robbers, as why shouldn't it, the story departments will have to get over the shamefaced pretense that they are educating the public. These dossier dramas are not very lively.

As the undercover man (to Chicago's elite he seems about as inconspicuous as Marilyn Miller on a white horse) Glenn Ford is pleasantly shabby and weary. Barry Kelley is properly offensive as the "syndicate's" lawyer; the rest of the cast never get quite into focus.

Anyone who films a thriller on a crack European train knows that his venture is going to be compared, probably unfavorably, with "The Lady Vanishes." But this so little deters courageous producers that the high-pitched whistle of the continental locomotive has become a movie cliché for murder.

"Sleeping Car to Trieste," the latest British adventure in wagon-lit villainy, is certainly not as good as the Hitchcock classic; to be blunt about it, it isn't much good at all. The director, John Paddy Carstairs, has developed some better than average character parts —particularly a Scottish lecturer on World Brotherhood (Finlay Currie) who savagely mistreats his valet-secretary—but the picture lacks invention, it lacks suspense and it is held together by hairpins.

The plot concerns the theft of an indiscreet diary which, if its contents became known, would raise the very devil in Ruritania. A number of people interested in this lively document sway back and forth through the corridors, dodge in and out of the compartments, and glance anxiously up and down the platform at each stop. The Alpine scenery is beautiful. ROBERT HATCH

CORRESPONDENCE

Social Security for Indians

SIR: Racial discrimination against native Americans—the Indians—will have the official encouragement of federal law in a few days unless the House insists on a change in the current Deficiency Appropriations Bill, affecting social security, to be voted on when the House reconvenes.

This bill, passed by the Senate, contains a trick rider which in effect deprives 100,000 US American Indians in Arizona and New Mexico of social-security benefits. Thus two states will receive implied federal sanction to violate the Social Security Act, for the Act itself expressly prohibits racial discrimination. The rider, according to the Senate Appropriations Committee's own accompanying explanation, would have the effect of voiding an Indian's right to federal social-security benefits if he had previously accepted relief money in any amount, no matter how small, from the Indian Bureau. The result can be, and in the past has been, starvation.

Not one voice was raised in Congress to protest its assault on the citizenship rights of a minority group. The press as yet has reported not one word of this outrage.

Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona and Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico perhaps do not realize that the Indians are citizens and voters too, and as such, are entitled to old-age-benefit payments and aid to the blind and to dependent children.

Deaths from starvation, malnutrition and allied causes among the 100,000 Indians affected by this measure have exceeded the number of deaths from similar causes over a four-year period in all the rest of our population. The misery of these Indians is on the public record; the attempt to legalize such deprivation of rights is a public shame.

Everyone who reads this letter can help. Write your own Representative, or to Representatives John H. Kerr (N.C.), Louis C. Rabaut (Mich.) and Clarence Cannon (Mo.). Ask them to insist that House conferees stand firm against the Hayden Amendment legalizing race discrimination in social security, in the impending Deficiency Appropriation Bill, HR 2632.

JAY B. NASH
Chairman, Committee on Indian
Civil Rights of the American
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Can Such Things Be?

The Mutual Broadcasting System . . . is concerned about what it calls professional contestants who make a career of quiz shows. Their interest, says Mutual, is in the prizes they expect to win and not in the educational phases of the programs.—*From the Chicago* Sun.

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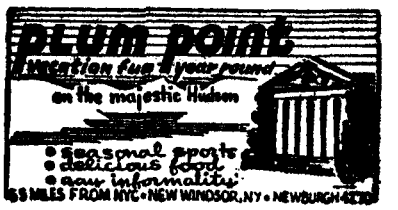
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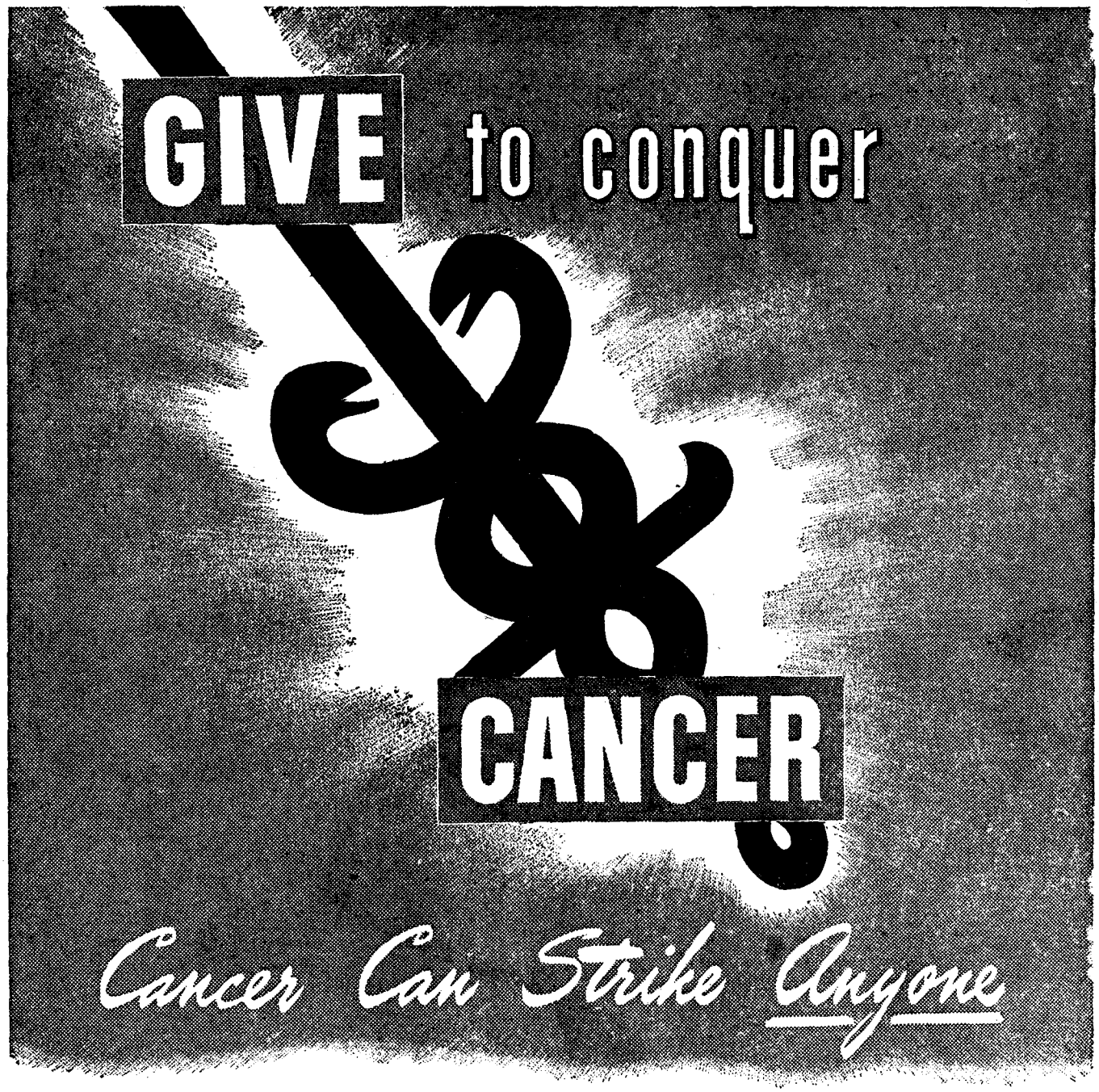

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